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AN
HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL
ACCOUNT
OF
NEW SOUTH WALES.

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Balmain.

Berry's Bay.



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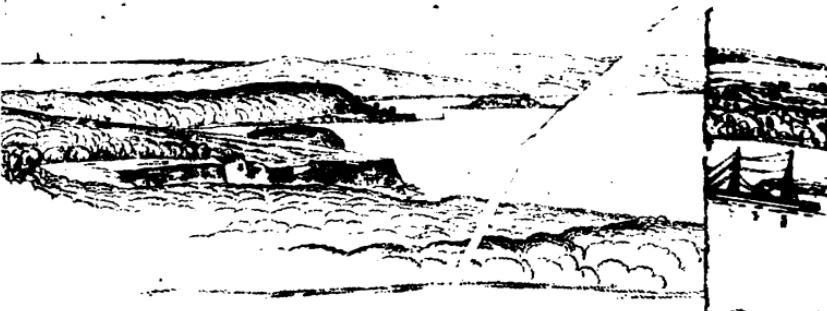
Wolomoloo.

Darlinghurst.



Maoquarie Lighthouse

Kurruba Point. Shark Island.





THE

AN
HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL
ACCOUNT
OF
NEW SOUTH WALES,
FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE COLONY IN 1788
TO THE PRESENT DAY.

BY
JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D., A.M.
SENIOR MINISTER OF THE SCOTS CHURCH, SYDNEY, AND RECENTLY
ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CITY OF SYDNEY IN THE PARLIAMENT
OF NEW SOUTH WALES;
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF FRANCE,
OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, AND
OF THE LITERARY INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OLINDA, IN THE BRAZILS.

"Quorum pars magna fui."—*Virgil.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



FOURTH EDITION.

THE HISTORY OF THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS ENTIRELY NEW.

London:
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OR,

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AN
HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL ACCOUNT
OF
NEW SOUTH WALES.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

"Nullus in orbe sinus *Baïs* prælucet amœnitas." ¹—HORACE.

THE Commission of Captain Phillip, as the first Governor of New South Wales, comprised the whole extent of the discoveries of Captain Cook (including those of Tasman to the southward,) on the Australian continent, from the South Cape of Van Dieman's Land, now Tasmania, in latitude $43^{\circ} 39'$, to Cape York, the northern extremity of the land, in latitude $11^{\circ} 37'$ south ; as also the *adjacent islands*—Norfolk Island and New Zealand—in the Pacific Ocean. This vast extent of territory, however, was not intended to form the permanent extent of the colony of New South Wales : it was included in the Royal Commission merely to enable the Governor to exercise jurisdiction in

¹ In the penal times of the colony, "The Bay" used to be the synonyme for New South Wales.

any part of it, and to protect the whole of it from the intrusion of any foreign power. Accordingly, as soon as the subordinate, but remote, settlement of Tasmania had become sufficiently populous and important to require a separate government, that settlement was detached from New South Wales and erected into a distinct colony, on the petition of the inhabitants, in the year 1825. The proclamation of General Darling to that effect was issued on the 12th December of that year ; the extent of the new colony, or Tasmania, being 27,000 square miles, and the population at the time 14,192.

In the year 1838, the late Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor General of New South Wales, recommended that the permanent boundaries of the colony, which it had then become expedient to fix, should be the Tropic of Capricorn to the north ; Bass' Straits, or the Great Southern Ocean, to the south ; and the Murray and Darling rivers to the west.² And in a debate, in the Nominee Legislative Council of 1840, the late James Macarthur, Esq., expressed his approval of the recommendation, as did also certain of the other members. If that recommendation had been adopted, the colony of New South Wales would have comprised an area of from 600,000 to 700,000 square miles, and been as large as all Great Britain and Ireland, France and Italy, Belgium and Holland. The idea of combining under the same colonial government so vast an extent of territory is sufficiently preposterous to render any argument on the subject quite unnecessary.

Nothing indeed has been more blameworthy, on the part of Great Britain as a mother country, or more unfortunate

² "This colony might thus extend northward to the Tropic of Capricorn ; westward to 145° E. ; the southern portion having for boundaries the Darling, the Murray, and the sea-coast."—*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c.*

for her colonies, than her systematic indifference and neglect in not fixing proper boundary-lines at the proper time between conterminous colonies. How easy, for example, would it not have been for the mother country to have appointed a Commission, to consist of able and disinterested men, at the time when it had become indispensably necessary to determine proper boundaries for the Australian colonies generally, to exercise their own judgment on the spot, after taking evidence on the subject, and to report to the authorities at home? To leave such questions to the ambition and cupidity of colonists, or even to the Colonial Office and the Imperial Parliament, without such reliable information, was preeminently absurd.

But this gross neglect of the Imperial authorities in not striking proper boundary-lines at the proper time, has been the characteristic of the Imperial government of the colonies all along. Within the last forty or fifty years it has twice brought the mother country to the brink of a war with the United States of America—first, in the case of the boundary between the colony of New Brunswick and the State of Maine ; and, secondly, in the case of the Oregon territory : in the final settlement of both of which cases, every intelligent Englishman must admit that a large sacrifice of British territory was made to the Genius of the Union, through the inexcusable neglect of the proper authorities in the mother country at the proper time. But this evil, as I have just remarked, has unfortunately been of long standing in the British government of the colonies.

“A fairer adjustment of the limits of Connecticut and New York,” observes the historian of the Colonial period of the United States, under the year 1664, “was found necessary at a subsequent period, and *was not accomplished without violent dispute and altercation between the two provincial governments.*”

And again—“Nothing was more common for a long time

in the American provinces than disputes arising from uncertain boundaries³"

In the course of a visit which I paid to the United States in the year 1840, I learnt, I confess for the first time, that much of the social comfort and happiness of the American people depended upon the fact of their having their Government, in all the more important concerns of life, brought, so to speak, to their own doors, through the division of their common country into a number of separate States, each of which is sovereign and independent within its own territory ; for matters of national concernment that come before their General Government have very seldom any important bearing on the relations of private individuals. And I also learned on that occasion that, in cutting up their waste lands into new Territories or States, they had found from experience that, in such a country as theirs, from 40,000 to 50,000 square miles was a proper extent of territory for a separate and independent State.⁴ As, however, there is a larger proportion of sterile land in Eastern Australia than

³ Graham's History of the United States, ii. 188 and 354.

⁴ The following is the extent of ten of the Western States of the American Union, all formed since the era of Independence, viz.:—

Ohio	38,800	square miles
Indiana	35,100	ditto
Illinois	56,000	ditto
Michigan	48,622	ditto
Wisconsin	46,622	ditto
Alabama	46,000	ditto
Missouri	63,000	ditto
Arkansas	60,000	ditto
Tennessee	43,000	ditto
Kentucky	38,000	ditto

Total extent of ten States . 475,144 square miles

Average extent of each . 47,514 ditto

Sir Thomas Mitchell's colony would therefore have been much larger than ten of the principal States of the American Union.

in North America, it would appear to be necessary that Australia should be cut up into larger divisions than those of the United States, and that these divisions should be determined respectively by the physical character of the country. In traversing, therefore, a large portion of the vast territory which Sir Thomas Mitchell proposed to include under one colossal government, it appeared to me that the Great Creator had evidently formed not fewer than three great centres of agriculture and commerce, of population and government, for that extensive territory : viz., Port Jackson, or the harbour of Sydney, for the middle district, Port Phillip for the southern, and Moreton Bay for the northern ; thereby dividing Sir Thomas Mitchell's one great colony into three.

In the year 1843, when requested by certain of the inhabitants of Port Phillip to become a candidate for the representation of that district in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, I stated, at a public meeting in Melbourne, when the separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales was the great question of the day, that I considered it a matter of absolute necessity for the welfare and advancement of the district, that it should be separated from New South Wales, and have a government of its own; and as Sir Thomas Mitchell, who was also one of the candidates, had compared his great ideal colony to a spread eagle, of which Sydney was the head, New South Wales the body, and Port Phillip and Moreton Bay the two wings, I observed that in my opinion it was high time that one of these wings, viz. Port Phillip, should be lopped off, as I felt assured the other, viz. Moreton Bay, would be lopped off also in a very few years. "And what," I asked the meeting, "did they think Sir Thomas Mitchell's spread eagle, or the great colony of New South Wales would then become ?" To which question, as no answer was returned, I replied, to the great amusement and satisfaction of the meeting, that

"it would be much like a real colonial bird than ever, as it would then resemble an Emu"—a well-known Australian bird, like the ostrich, without wings. The result, as I have stated above, was that I was elected by a majority of eight votes above Sir Thomas.

By the Imperial Act of 1850, the boundaries of New South Wales were declared to be the Pacific Ocean to the eastward, from Cape Howe in latitude $37^{\circ} 30'$ to the 30th parallel of south latitude, and from the Pacific Ocean along the Murray River to the 141° of east longitude; that being the eastern boundary of the colony of South Australia to the westward. Within these limits there is an area of 270,000 square miles, an extent of country much larger than France; but to this vast extent of territory there was added by a subsequent proceeding, of which I have recorded the particulars in page 402 of the first volume of this work, a tract of country larger than all England, thereby making the area of the colony nearly 325,000 square miles.

The whole colony, and indeed the whole continent,⁵ is traversed from north to south by a mountain-chain, called the Blue Mountains or Australian Andes, which generally runs in a north-north-east and south-south-west direction, with an average elevation of from 3500 to 4000 feet above the level of the sea. At the northern and southern extremities of the colony, the mountains of this chain attain a much higher elevation; Mount Kosciusko, the highest peak of the Australian Alps, on the boundary between New South Wales and Victoria, being 7308 feet high and generally covered with snow; while Mount Sea View, in New England, towards the northern boundary, attains an elevation of 6000 feet, the mountains in that part of the colony also

⁵ This is not strictly correct, for about 21° or 22° south latitude the mountain-chain subsides, and allows a considerable river, which rises in the western interior, to find its way to the Pacific; but it reappears to the northward, and continues on to Cape York.

being not unfrequently covered with snow. The average distance of this chain from the coast is sixty miles. To the southward, however, it recedes considerably farther to the westward, and a coast range intervenes between it and the Pacific. Between the two ranges there is an elevated plain or table-land, called Maneiro Plains, of about a hundred miles square, at an elevation of 3000 feet above the level of the sea : and along the whole extent of the colony to the northward, there is a succession of plains, called the Plains of Braidwood, Breadalbane, Goulburn, Bathurst, &c., at an elevation of about 2000 feet above the ocean level. Towards the northern extremity of the colony, these plains attain a much higher elevation, and form an interesting tract of country called New England, which, like Maneiro Plains to the south, rises 3000 feet above the level of the sea.⁶ To the westward of Bathurst, on the parallel of Sydney, there is another parallel chain, but of limited extent, the highest peak of which—Mount Canobolas—has been ascertained by Sir Thomas Mitchell to be 4461 feet high.

There is thus a vast extent of elevated table-land in New South Wales, running parallel to the coast-line, at a considerable distance inland : and as much of this land is of superior quality for cultivation, it affords the means of sustaining a whole series of inland cities and towns, with a large agricultural population, in one of the finest climates in the world. Hitherto, indeed, these plains have been covered almost exclusively with the flocks and herds of the

⁶ Mount Benlomond, in that part of the territory, on the 30th parallel of latitude, rises to an elevation of 5000 feet above the ocean level, while Mount Warning, at the head of the Tweed River, in latitude $28\frac{1}{2}$ ° south, although of lesser elevation, being only 3353 feet in height, but much nearer the sea, is a famous landmark for mariners, and received its name as such from the great navigator, Captain Cook.

colonists ; but they are evidently destined to afford both sustenance and employment for a nobler animal, and the hardy mountaineers of these elevated regions will doubtless give a peculiar character to the future population of New South Wales.

At the southern extremity of the colony, between the coast ranges and the Pacific, a large extent of land—from 50,000 to 100,000 acres—has recently been taken up by a number of small farmers, under Mr. Robertson's famous Free Selection Act, for agricultural settlement. This whole tract of country has much more of the aspect and character of English scenery than that of most of the other districts of the colony; and the town of Bega, which is situated about thirty-five miles from the coast, in the midst of these agricultural settlements, has a thriving population of about seven hundred inhabitants, with a weekly journal, a flourishing school, and places of worship of a creditable appearance for Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and Roman Catholics.

Almost all the rivers of New South Wales take their rise in the great mountain chain which traverses the colony from north to south—flowing either eastward to the Pacific, or westward into the interior. The rivers that fall into the Pacific along the coast-line are formed from the confluence of the numerous mountain-streams that rise in the gullies on the eastern slopes of the great dividing range. Their course to the ocean is therefore necessarily short ; but, as if to compensate for this shortness of course, they generally run for a considerable distance either northward or southward, along the base of the mountains, receiving accessions of volume from other mountain-streams in their course. On the banks of these rivers there is usually a larger or smaller extent of alluvial land, subject to occasional inundations, but of the richest character for all sorts of cultivation, and covered, in a state of Nature, with

the most luxuriant vegetation. Besides, these rivers are uniformly tide rivers, and available, in some instances, for a considerable distance from their mouths, for steam navigation.

Towards Cape Howe, the coast range of mountains approaches very close to the sea, with the exception I have stated above, and leaves only a long narrow strip of land between its base and the ocean ; and the mountain-torrents that descend from the range to the Pacific across this narrow plain, have in the course of ages formed considerable tracts of the richest alluvial land on their banks, on which flourishing agricultural settlements have been formed. This is particularly the case at Panbula, a small town, containing about 300 inhabitants, twelve or fifteen miles to the northward of Two-fold Bay, near Cape Howe, as also at Warrabangal, about forty miles to the northward. At the latter of these localities, three mountain-streams, called the Bega, the Brogo, and the Buckajoe, unite their waters into one river, which, however, is bar-mouthed, about six miles from the ocean ; and the extent of alluvial land along their banks is considerable. These mountain-streams are all subject to sudden floods, from rains on the high lands of Maneiro Plains, in which they originate; and a melancholy instance of this kind, in which not only much property and produce, but seventeen lives were lost, occurred in the month of May, 1851. There is plenty of high land in the immediate neighbourhood, far above the reach of inundations, on which farm buildings may be erected, and farm produce secured ; but the small farmers naturally prefer living in the midst of their cultivation, supposing that the floods will never reach them, even although the marks of former inundations may be seen far above them on the surrounding trees.

The case of a small farmer, of the name of Thompson, who perished on this occasion, was greatly commiserated.

He was upwards of seventy years of age, and had a comfortable cottage and a well-cultivated little farm at Warra-bangal, with a considerable and thriving establishment. He had been absent at Panbula when the rain commenced, and the flood was rising when he reached his home. Supposing, however, that the waters would abate, he clung with a fatal tenacity to the spot, till himself and his whole party had at last to leave his dwelling-house and mount upon the roof of the stable, which was a higher and stronger building ; their retreat to the higher level being in the meantime cut off. In this extremity a black native and his jin, or wife, were despatched for a boat, which used to be fastened by a painter on the banks of the Bega River, about a mile off. The black natives had to swim the whole of this distance ; but on reaching the spot where the boat was usually moored to the bank, they found that the painter had snapped, and the boat been driven out to sea. Thompson and his party were thus left to their fate ; and about twelve o'clock the same night, when the rising moon revealed to those who had escaped to the hills the scene of desolation below, they were observed to be overwhelmed at last by the rising waters. The party consisted of Thompson himself and six other Europeans, three New Zealanders, and several black natives ; all of whom, together with the dwelling-house, barn, stables, wheat and hay-stacks, horses, drays, and even dogs, were swept away. It was not to be wondered at, however, that these unfortunate people should have been mistaken beforehand, as to the probable height of the floods in that particular locality ; for a Government surveyor had shortly before marked out a site for a town on the Bega River, the whole of which was under water during the inundation to the depth of twenty feet !

The first river of any importance on the coast, proceeding northward from Cape Howe, is the Moruya River, which falls into the Pacific at Broulee, in the 36th parallel of

latitude. It rises about forty miles inland, pursuing first a northerly, and afterwards a southerly course, till it reaches the ocean in nearly the same parallel of latitude as its source.

There is a comparatively large extent of valuable land on both banks of the Moruya River, and the scenery of the district is exceedingly beautiful. There is a valuable granite quarry on the river, from which large blocks have been carried to Sydney, to be formed into ornamental pillars for public buildings. There is also a silver-mine in the district, but not worked, for want of capital; and there are two gold-diggings within a moderate distance—the one to the southward, called the Gulf Diggings, and the other to the northward, called the Valley of Araluen—from both of which large quantities of the precious metal have been extracted for ten or fifteen years past. The town of Moruya is a place of considerable promise, and besides a weekly press and a flourishing school, it has respectable places of worship that are well attended, for members of the Church of England, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and Roman Catholics respectively.

About twenty miles to the northward of the Moruya River, is Bateman's Bay, the embouchure of the Clyde River, which pursues a southerly course parallel to the coast-line, of about forty miles, having rather a limited extent of alluvial land on its banks. Vessels drawing nine feet of water can cross the bar at the mouth of this river; but as much of the land on its banks is hopelessly sterile, it is never likely to attract a large population. There is a good road up the mountain range that stretches along the coast-line in this part of the country, from Nelligen, a township at the head of the navigation of the Clyde River, to the town of Braidwood in the interior, at an elevation of upwards of 3500 feet above the level of the sea. The scenery along this mountain road, especially where the trap

formation breaks out, and the vegetation becomes semi-tropical, is surpassingly beautiful. But, since the opening of the railway to Goulburn, by which there is a much shorter and direct route to Braidwood, this road is now seldom used.

The Shoalhaven river, which falls into the Pacific in lat. $34^{\circ} 40'$, has a much longer course than either the Moruya or the Clyde, and a much larger extent of alluvial land, of the first quality for cultivation on its banks. It rises in a swamp to the southward of the 36th parallel of latitude, about forty miles inland; pursuing a northerly course of nearly a hundred miles, where it forms the dividing line between the county of St. Vincent, on the one hand, and those of Murray and Argyle on the other, and then running due east other forty miles to the Pacific, and forming the dividing line between the counties of St. Vincent and Camden.

All these three rivers are available for steam navigation, and the Shoalhaven especially, as I have stated, has a large extent of the richest alluvial land on its banks, towards the ocean. In the upper parts of its course, it traverses a great extent of broken and impracticable country, and the table-land of the interior extends to the very edge of the precipices that line its valley; from the summit of which the river is seen like a silver thread, pursuing its course through the dark ravine, at a depth of twelve or fifteen hundred feet perpendicular. These are the only coast rivers of importance to the southward of Sydney; Cook's River and George's River, which fall into the Pacific at Botany Bay, being comparatively unimportant streams.

The land immediately on the coast in this part of the territory is generally sterile; but there are several remarkable exceptions to this general rule. Besides the alluvial plains or flats already mentioned, at Panbula and Warabangal, there is also a limited extent of land of a similar

description at Ulla-dulla, a boat harbour on the coast, in latitude $35^{\circ} 30'$; and the district of Illawarra, in the county of Camden, which will require a more particular notice in the sequel, is generally regarded as the garden of the colony.

The first river flowing into the Pacific, to the northward of Port Jackson, is the Hawkesbury, which disembogues at Broken Bay, about eighteen miles to the northward of Sydney; presenting along its whole course of a hundred miles from the town of Windsor to the sea the most magnificent scenery, not inferior indeed, although on a smaller scale, to the famous scenery of the Rhine. I have already had occasion to describe the upper portion of this river, the banks of which were the site of some of the older settlements of the colony, in the first volume of this work. In the lower parts of its course it traverses a mountainous and sterile country, of sandstone formation; the patches of alluvial land on its banks becoming gradually fewer and smaller as it approaches the ocean. On both sides of the bay, however, into which it disembogues, there are romantic inlets, presenting the finest wood and rock scenery imaginable, with patches of the richest alluvial land on their shores, which are generally occupied by small settlers. The inlet, to the northward, is called Brisbane Water. It is one of the most romantic spots in the colony, presenting, however, only a limited extent of agricultural land, of the first quality, which is occupied in small farms, and sustains a considerable agricultural population. The country along the coast, to the northward of the Hawkesbury River, as far as Hunter's River, the great coal-field of New South Wales, is generally sterile.

Hunter's River empties itself into the Pacific, at the town of Newcastle, in latitude $32^{\circ} 56'$, and the Karua River, which traverses the Agricultural Company's land, falls into Port Stephen, an extensive inlet and harbour, about thirty

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miles to the north-eastward; the Manning River, which is still farther north, disengaging in latitude 32° . All these three rivers will be more particularly noticed in the sequel.

The tract of country along the coast, between the Manning River and Port Macquarie, in latitude $31^{\circ} 25'$ south, is generally sterile, with the exception of the immediate vicinity of Camden Haven, an interesting inlet of that line of coast, about fifteen miles to the southward of Port Macquarie.⁷

The next river beyond the Manning, to the northward, is the Hastings, which disengages at Port Macquarie, and was discovered by Mr. Oxley, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, in the year 1818. The Hastings rises in Mount Warragambi, one of the summits of the mountain range which separates the basin of the Manning River from that of the Macleay. Its course to the Pacific—through an extensive valley, finely watered with clear small streamlets—is about a hundred miles, for ten miles of which it is navigable for steamboats and coasting-vessels to the head of tide-water. Into the same inlet of Port Macquarie other two navigable streams discharge their waters—the Maria River, which is rather a salt-water inlet than a river, and is navigable in a northerly direction for thirty-six miles; and the Wilson River, a perennial stream, which flows from the north-westward, and is navigable for twenty miles. On all these rivers there are many farms, occupied by industrious settlers; but there is still much valuable land

⁷ "On crossing the range bounding the basin of the River Hastings, I at length entered a deep brush of a more alluvial character, and encountered a large stream which flows into Camden Haven Inlet. The brush of this creek was diversified by an abundance of bangolo palms, fern-trees, and large flooded gum-trees. After crossing it, I entered another tract of country, of similar features to that on the north side of Camden Creek, the low ranges being of good soil, and tolerably grassy."—*Journey from Port Macquarie to Hunter's River*, by Clement Hodgkinson, Esq., page 87.

unoccupied in the district, to be possessed eventually by an agricultural population.⁸

The town of Port Macquarie, which is situated upon a rising ground on the right bank of the River Hastings, has a very interesting appearance from the sea, groves of palm and myrtle-trees extending to the water's edge, and every open spot around being carpeted with grass. The houses are of brick, which is here of a much better description than in Sydney, from the superior quality of the clay, and they have generally verandahs and trellis-work all around them. The town, which is well built, with broad straight streets, is encircled with a grove of magnificent trees, which extend along the bank of the river; and the view of the mountains in the distance adds greatly to the interest and beauty of the scenery. Port Macquarie was formerly a penal settlement, for the safe custody of "specials," or educated convicts; and it is doubtless to the large Government expenditure that was incurred on this account, that the superior architectural character of the town is to be ascribed. Its present population is 700.

To the northward of Port Macquarie, the Macleay River,

⁸ "The Hastings," says Captain King, "was discovered by Mr. Oxley on his return from his second journey. It is not very important in a navigable view, since it cannot be ascended more than ten miles by vessels of any size; but it flows through a great valley extending fifty miles inland, till it reaches the mountains, and with a breadth nearly uniform. This tract is various, but generally broken into a pleasant undulation of hill and dale, and consisting mostly of what is called open forest, by which is meant grass-land, lightly covered with good timber, and free from the perils of inundation. It is, in general, finely watered with clear small streams, an advantage not enjoyed by the more southern districts of the colony. The climate is nearly tropical, and rather too hot for wheat, which is apt to run to straw; maize and rice would, of course, flourish, and sugar and tobacco have been tried with success. The inland dividing Blue Mountains are very rugged and lofty, rising to 6500 feet."

a much larger and more important stream than the Hastings, disembogues in Trial Bay, in latitude $30^{\circ} 40'$ south. It has a bar entrance, as well as Port Macquarie; but it is quite available for steam navigation. The basis of the country, towards the mouth of the river, is granite and trap; and on both sides of the bay, at its entrance, there are lofty granite masses, rising to an elevation of 2000 feet; the ravines at their base being filled with gigantic palms and tree-ferns. Like most of the Australian rivers, the Macleay is flanked on either side, for a considerable distance from its mouth, with extensive flats, covered with the dismal mangrove-tree, which grows only within the influence of salt water, and thereby contributes materially to the important process of extending the solid land. Higher up, the mangrove flats give place to dense alluvial brushes, presenting a continuous wall of vegetation on both banks of the river; the forest trees that are usually found in these brushes being known in the colony by the names of red and white cedar,⁹ mahogany, tulipwood, rosewood, ironwood, lightwood, sassafras, corkwood, tamarind, box, myrtles, palms, and Australian fig-trees. The Macleay River is navigable for thirty-four miles from its mouth, its reaches being long and straight, and its average width a quarter of a mile. The alluvial brushes on its banks have generally extensive swamps immediately behind them; but these have all been undergoing a process of desiccation for many years past, one of 50,000 acres being now completely dry. The alluvial

⁹ The red cedar of New South Wales (*Cedrela Toona*) is different from the cedar of Lebanon (*Cedrus Pinus*). The white cedar (*Melia Azedarach*) is the tree that is usually planted in the Southern States of America along the footpaths in towns, both for shade and ornament. It is there called the *Pride of India*. The town of Wilmington, in North Carolina, is otherwise an uninteresting place; but the lines of these beautiful trees along its principal streets relieve the dulness and monotony of its appearance greatly.

brushes, however, on the river banks, are not continuous. Occasionally there are plains of fifty or a hundred acres of alluvial soil, of exuberant fertility, in the brushes, quite clear of timber, and ready for the plough.

About twenty-eight miles from the mouth of the Macleay is the village or town of West Kempsey, which is usually reached by way of Port Macquarie and the Maria River; the distance across, from the head of the navigation of that river, being only eight or ten miles. Its present population is 625. The extent of available land, of the first quality for cultivation, on the Macleay River, is very great. Two crops—of wheat and maize—may be reaped off the same land yearly, and all sorts of European roots, fruits, and vegetables, grow luxuriantly. Maize, which yields seventy-five bushels per acre, is a never-failing crop; a hundred bushels to the acre having been gathered at Port Macquarie. The sugar cane has latterly been cultivated to some extent on the Macleay River, but hitherto, from the prevalence of occasional frosts, with indifferent success; the principal establishment for the purpose having been recently removed to the Clarence River farther north.

The Macleay River has several creeks and tributaries, as for instance the Dongai Creek, with rich alluvial soil on their banks. Above the navigation, the river has a rapid current, over a shingly bed, consisting of pebbles of limestone, jasper, greenstone, basalt, and quartz; and the country, on its banks, presents the appearance of a nobleman's park. Ranges of clay-slate and limestone are prevalent in this part of the country. In the upper part of its course, as the river rises towards New England, it traverses a remarkably broken country, and exhibits splendid falls in its progress, some of them having a perpendicular descent of 250 feet. Round-topped basaltic ranges rise on all sides, and the country assumes, at length, quite an Alpine character; the New England mountains, in which the river has its

sources, towering to an elevation of 6000 feet above the level of the sea.

Eleven miles north of the mouth of the Macleay is the embouchure of another river, called the Nambucca, or Nanbuera River, with a rocky, impracticable bar, but navigable for boats for some distance within; where it divides itself into three or four streams, one of which is called the Algomerra, with much alluvial land on their banks. This portion of the territory is of little or no value for pastoral purposes, or for stock stations; but it contains much land available for agriculture, and for the settlement of an agricultural population.

A few miles to the northward of the Nanbuera is the Bellinger River, discovered in the year 1841, with a bar at its entrance, shallow, but still practicable for small coasting-vessels and steamboats. Into the same inlet with the Bellinger, another river, called the Odalberree, disembogues. Both of these rivers run nearly due east from the lofty mountains of the interior, and have much alluvial land, although generally in small patches, with splendid timber and magnificent scenery on their banks. "If agriculture," observes Mr. Clement Hodgkinson, in writing of this tract of country years ago, "were sufficiently profitable in New South Wales, to cover the expenses of clearing land of heavy brushes, the rich, narrow glen of the Bellinger, might, in that case, be highly available, especially if rice, cotton, tobacco, &c., were the objects of cultivation."¹ There is no doubt that agriculture is now and will henceforth be sufficiently profitable in New South Wales to cover the expenses of clearing the heaviest brushland, such as Mr. Hodgkinson describes, especially if the objects of cultivation are at all suited to the soil and climate: and it is gratifying

¹ *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay, &c.* By Clement Hodgkinson, Esq., of the Survey Department of New South Wales. Page 70. London, 1845.

to think that there is still so much land of this description remaining to be occupied within the Parliamentary limits of the colony. I shall reserve the three rivers of the Northern District—the Clarence, the Richmond, and the Tweed—for a separate notice in the sequel.

The principal rivers flowing westward from the great Dividing Range of New South Wales, are the Darling, the Lachlan, the Murrumbidgee and the Murray or Hume, with their numerous affluents. The Darling, which passes under various names in its long course of 1160 miles, takes its rise, as the Macintyre or Karaula River, in Mount Benlomond, in New England; pursuing first a north-westerly and then a westerly course, till it reaches its farthest west at the township of Bourke, in latitude 30° south, from which it runs due south till it empties itself into the Murray, at Wentworth; the area of the valley of the Darling being 198,000 square miles. The Darling, although not always navigable, is occasionally navigated by river steamers as high as Bourke, that is, 650 miles from its mouth.

The river Lachlan, a much smaller stream, with a much shorter course, rises in a mountain range in the county of King, and after receiving various affluents in the upper part of its course, and traversing extensive plains, falls into the Murrumbidgee. The estimated length of the Lachlan River is 700 miles, and the area of its valley is 27,000 square miles.

The Murrumbidgee rises in the ranges adjoining Maneiro Plains, and pursues first a northerly and afterwards a southerly, and then a westerly course, till it falls into the Murray, near the township of Balranald. Its estimated length is 1350 miles, and it drains an area of 25,000 square miles. The Murrumbidgee is navigable for 500 miles to Wagga-Wagga, from its mouth, but it is not so always.

The Murray or Hume River takes its rise in Mount
c 2

Koszciusko, and forms the boundary of the colony towards Victoria, pursuing a north-westerly course till it reaches its northernmost point, in the latitude of Sydney. It then passes into the colony of South Australia, and pursuing a southerly course, falls into the Lake Alexandrina. The length of the Murray River is 1120 miles, and the area of the valley it drains is 270,000 square miles. The Murray is navigable for a thousand miles, and is navigated by a whole fleet of steam-vessels from Echuca, on the Victoria side of the river, that ply regularly on the Murray and Murrumbidgee rivers, and carry the trade of both rivers in that part of their course to Melbourne.

The geology of New South Wales is remarkably simple. From Sydney, as a centre, for about fifty miles both north and south, and for a hundred miles due west from the Pacific, the general basis of the country is sandstone; which forms a line of precipitous cliffs towards the Pacific, that have apparently been rent asunder, by some tremendous convulsion of nature, to form the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson, and which has also been heaved up, in immense masses, into the Blue Mountains of the interior. The ascertained thickness, or depth of this vast pavement, is considerably upwards of 2000 feet; but how much thicker or deeper it may be, no man can tell. At its northern, southern, and western limits, the carboniferous, or coal formation appears, occupying a great extent of country to the northward, and more limited tracts, as far as has yet been ascertained, to the southward and westward. Beyond the carboniferous formation, to the westward, the crystalline and sedimentary rocks of more ancient periods—granites, quartz, and schists, of all the usual varieties—appear; forming mountain masses, running parallel to the sandstone mountains, towards the coast, and declining gradually towards the western interior. But all these three formations have at different places and periods been subject

to disarrangement and displacement by the eruption of vast masses of volcanic matter, forming the basalts, and other trap rocks all over the country.

Of these formations, the Sydney sandstone is evidently the most recent, as it rests upon the carboniferous formation, which again reposes upon the crystalline and sedimentary formations of more ancient eras;² the comparative age or period of the volcanic eruption being determinable, in each case, if at all, by the peculiar phases which that case exhibits. Now, it is in the most ancient of these formations, the crystalline and sedimentary rocks of the primitive eras, that gold, and the other metals ascertained to exist in Australia, have been discovered. And as the Australian Andes, on the western slopes of which that discovery was first made, extend, with the exception I have stated above, from Wilson's Promontory to Cape York, there is reason to believe that gold will be discovered, as it has actually been in particular instances already, as at Gympie, and the Palmer River in Queensland, along the whole course of these mountains, to the northern extremity of the land. Nay, as the Australian Andes are continued to the southward, in a series of islands across Bass' Straits, to Tasmania, as also across that island to the South Cape; and to the northward, across Torres Straits to New Guinea, as also across the latter island to its northern shores, there is reason to believe that gold will be found along the whole extent of this vast chain—in the mountains of New Guinea, as well as in those of Tasmania, and along the whole length of the island-continent of Australia.

As the soil derived from comminuted or disintegrated sandstone is necessarily sterile, it follows, from the great

² "The variegated sandstone about Sydney, above which no other formation has yet been found, constitutes the highest bed in the geological series of the colony."—*Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land*. By P. E. O. Strzelecki, page 129.

extent of surface over which the sandstone formation extends, that there must be much land of an inferior character in New South Wales. In the county of Cumberland, the principal county of the colony, corresponding to Middlesex, in England, the soil consists of a thin layer of light mould over a substratum of clay; and it is only where trap-rock has protruded to the surface through the underlying sandstone, or where a rich alluvium has been formed on the banks of rivers, by the successive deposits of the inundations of past ages, that the vegetation exhibits extraordinary luxuriance. In the whinstone or trap and limestone regions to the northward and southward, as well as on the more ancient formations to the westward, the pasture is of a much superior character, and the labours of the husbandman are better rewarded. But a country as large as both Great Britain and France may have a vast extent of sterile as well as of inferior land, while it has nevertheless an absolutely large extent of land of the first quality for the purposes of man; and this is unquestionably the case in New South Wales. In Victoria, which is only a comparatively small country, the good land is all together, and can be seen, so to speak, at one view; in New South Wales, the portions of good land are scattered over a vast extent of surface, and often separated from each other by sterile or unproductive tracts: but knowing both countries, as I do, from having traversed a very large portion of both, I shall be greatly mistaken if New South Wales will not be found to contain a much larger extent of land of the first quality for the purposes of man than Victoria. There is one remarkable difference between the two countries, and it is one of considerable importance to the future progress and advancement of the older colony; viz. that whereas the available land in Victoria is all nearly on the same dead level, presenting no variety of climate, and much the same range of produce as that of the mother country, New South Wales, like Central

America, has a *Tierra caliente*, or warm country along the coast, where many tropical productions can be raised with perfect facility in the immediate vicinity of water-carriage, and a *Tierra temblada*, or milder region in the elevated table-land of the interior, where the climate and productions of England can be realized, to any conceivable extent, by a healthy and hardy population. I make these remarks from no desire to disparage Victoria, which, although it can make no pretensions to the character of an original colony,—being merely an extension of the colonies of New South Wales and Tasmania—is nevertheless a noble colony, and possesses in the richest abundance, independently altogether of its gold, all the necessary elements of national prosperity, but simply from a desire to correct the misrepresentations of certain ill-informed writers in and on that colony, who systematically endeavour to elevate themselves in the estimation of the public by disparaging their neighbours.

The table-land to the south-westward of Sydney consists partly of ranges of limestone hills, perforated in all directions with extensive subterranean caverns, exactly similar, both in character and stalactitic adornment, to those that are uniformly found in regions of a similar formation both in Europe and America. Extensive masses of limestone occur also to the north-westward of Sydney, at the head of William's River ; and a series of caves, of the general character of those to which I have just alluded, was discovered in the limestone cliffs at Wellington Valley, about 200 miles to the westward of Sydney, forty years since. In one of these caves, the late George Rankin, Esq., J.P. of Bathurst, discovered a quantity of fossil bones, which he entrusted to my care for the Museum of the University of Edinburgh, on my embarking for England for the second time in the year 1830. I happened to be the first person in Sydney to whom Mr. R. showed the bones ; and perceiving the great importance of the discovery, as it

regarded the general interests of science, I endeavoured to direct the attention of the colony to the subject, in a letter, which was published at the time in one of the colonial papers, and was afterwards republished by Professor Jamieson, in the New Edinburgh Philosophical Journal for 1831. Certain of the bones were forwarded by Professor Jamieson to a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, in London, who afterwards transmitted the largest and most remarkable in the collection for further examination, to the late celebrated M. le Baron Cuvier, of Paris, by whom it was supposed to have been the thighbone of a young elephant.³

In the Appendix, No. I., will be found an interesting account of a vast limestone cave, on the Burrangilong Creek, in the south-western interior of New South Wales, to which, in point of dimensions at least, the celebrated cave of Fingal, in the island of Staffa, will bear no comparison.

The climate of New South Wales has been long and deservedly famous for its salubrity. To judge from the comparative rates of mortality among troops of the line in different colonies, it was the healthiest station beyond seas in the British Empire so long as it was a military station.

³ I mentioned this circumstance by way of inquiry to Dr. Hector, the very able Curator of the Museum in Wellington, New Zealand, when I happened to be there in the month of September, 1873; but Dr. H. told me, by way of explanation, that it was not known in Cuvier's time that such gigantic marsupials as those of which the fossil remains have since been discovered, had ever existed in Australia. It was therefore quite natural, and a matter of course, for Baron Cuvier, in the year 1831, to mistake the fossil thighbone of an extinct Australian marsupial for that of a young elephant. As I have been ridiculed again and again, by certain very knowing people, for having assigned the authority of Cuvier for the existence of the elephant in Australia, I have appended this note to the text to show that I had not been mistaken in the case, as well as to show how the mistake had arisen. I derived my information on the subject from the late Professor Jamieson.

For eight months during the year, viz. from the 1st of March to the 1st of November, the Australian climate is peculiarly delightful.⁴ The sky is seldom clouded ; and day after day, for whole weeks together, the sun looks down in unveiled beauty from the northern heavens. In ordinary seasons, refreshing showers are not unfrequent ; but although there are no periodical rains in the colony, as in the torrid zone, it sometimes rains as heavily as it ever does within the tropics. It seldom freezes in Sydney, and never snows ;⁵ but fires are requisite during the day in the winter months, and for a considerable time longer in the mornings and evenings.

The Australian summer extends from the 1st of November to the 1st of March : during this period the temperature is high, but rarely oppressive ; the thermometer seldom rising higher in Sydney than from 75 to 80 degrees of Fahrenheit. There is generally a sea-breeze during the day in the summer months, commencing about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and dying away about four in the afternoon. This breeze, which usually blows pretty fresh, and the immediate vicinity of the ocean, have so powerful an influence on the temperature of the coast, that it is generally ten degrees

⁴ "The delicious coolness of the morning, and the mild temperature of the evening air, in that luxurious climate, are beyond the powers of description."—*Captain Sturt.*

⁵ There was a shower of snow in Sydney on the 17th of June, 1836,—the only one that has ever fallen in that part of the colony. The younger natives of the colonial capital, who had never seen anything of the kind before, called it *white rain*. I have since witnessed two remarkable falls of snow in the interior of the colony—the one along the railway to Goulburn (in the year 1866, if I recollect aright), when the whole country for fifty miles was completely covered with snow, and the other in the upper part of Hunter's River, when the whole country for an equal distance along the railway was also covered with snow in the year 1872. But in both cases there had not been such a fall in the particular locality for thirty years before.

hotter at Parramatta, about fifteen miles distant in the interior, during the summer months, and ten degrees colder in winter, than it is in Sydney. But although it is occasionally hotter in summer than the average temperature I have just mentioned, the mornings and evenings are uniformly delightfully cool.⁶

As the question of climate is one of great importance to many, in connexion with the subject of emigration to the Australian Colonies, I am happy to be able to refer the reader to the testimony of two highly competent witnesses on the subject, which I shall take the liberty to subjoin in a note; viz. Count Strzelecki, in regard to the salubrity of New South Wales generally, and Clement Hodgkinson, Esq., in regard to that of the northern division of the Colony more particularly.⁷

⁶ As a remarkable illustration of the regularity and mildness of the climate of New South Wales, I subjoin the following account of the highest and lowest shade temperature of every month in the year in Sydney, copied from the "Abstract of Meteorological Observations taken at the Sydney Observatory in the year 1872."

	Highest Shade Temperature.	Lowest do.
January	98·3	58·9
February	88·0	59·8
March	79·0	56·1
April	55·2	47·6
May	68·8	40·4
June	74·7	39·9
July	71·2	40·1
August	69·1	36·8
September	79·6	42·4
October	87·4	46·7
November	80·9	53·2
December	86·1	57·5

⁷ "As to the colonial temperature, which comprehends so many different climatic effects and agencies, the reader cannot but be struck with the range and favourable thermometrical condition in

The salubrity of the climate of New South Wales is indicated by the general health of the colonists ; the diseases

which every locality, illustrated under the head of temperature, is found to be placed, when compared to other localities on the globe.

" Port Macquarie, in that comparison, is seen to possess the summer of Florence, Barcelona, Rome, or Naples ; the winter of Funchal or Benares, and a thermometrical fluctuation similar to that of Dublin : by its annual mean it may be classed with the climate of Tunis.

" Port Jackson, again, is, by a similar comparison, found to have the summer of Avignon, Constantinople, Baltimore, or Philadelphia ; and a winter very nearly similar to that of Cairo, or of the Cape of Good Hope.

" But what mainly illustrates the fertility and salubrity of these countries is the healthiness of the English settlers who have taken root in the soil. No endemic disease, and seldom any epidemic of grave character, prevails ; and if individual indisposition, or even partial deterioration of the progeny, is sometimes seen, it is to be traced to the pertinacity with which the English race cling to their original modes of living, wherever they settle, and however different their adopted may be to their native climate : it is to the abuse of strong wines, malt liquors, and spirits, and particularly to the excessive consumption of animal food of the richest description, and even to the mode of clothing and housing, that individual diseases, such as dyspepsia, premature decay of teeth, and affection of the brain, may be attributed.

" The climate of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, further, has never been shown to have exercised any of those deadly or deleterious effects on the constitutions of the first European emigrants, or of those who have followed them, which many climates, highly vaunted for their excellency, have done."—*Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land*, by Count Strzelecki, pp. 236. 238.

" The great exposure to which settlers and travellers in the Australian forests subject themselves, would, in any other clime, infallibly entail upon them fevers, rheumatism, affections of the lungs, &c. ; yet their extraordinary exemption from these ill effects has become proverbial, and is the best argument that can be adduced in favour of the salubrity of those parts of New South Wales hitherto colonized. During my surveys at the Macleay and Nambucca rivers,

which actually occur being, in perhaps three cases out of every four, the result of excess and dissipation, rather than of those *natural ills that flesh is heir to* in every country under the sun. Excess in the use of animal and other stimulating food is a frequent source of disease in the colony; it is the *semita lethi*—the by-path pursued unwittingly by many an individual, who slowly and unconsciously undermines his own constitution, and at length lays himself completely open to the fatal attacks of acute disease, under which he disappears as suddenly from the face of society as a falling star in the twilight. But excess in the use of ardent spirits is the grand source of disease in New South Wales; it is the broad *Appian Way*, pursued by thousands, to the grave.

The three forms of disease that are most frequent in the colony are *ophthalmia*, *dysentery*, and *influenza* or *catarrh*. By ophthalmia, however, I do not mean the Egyptian ophthalmia, but affections of the eyes in general: these arise from hot winds, from the reflection of the glare of sun-light from whitish surfaces, from working in the sun without a covering for the head; but in most cases from the use of ardent spirits. From the last mentioned of these causes, entire blindness sometimes, though rarely, ensues, among the labouring population. Dysentery is also confined chiefly, though by no means exclusively, to the lower classes of the colonial population; and mercury, in doses that a medical practitioner in Great Britain would be afraid

I found it often necessary to carry lines through extensive reedy swamps, in which I myself and my men were frequently immersed for hours together in stagnant water, which sometimes reached as high as our shoulders; yet although several of the men attached to my surveying party were evidently not of strong constitutions, none of them ever suffered any bad effects from these long-continued soakings."—*Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, by Clement Hodgkinson, Esq., p. 109.

to administer, is the grand specific whenever it occurs. It is occasioned sometimes by drinking water containing a solution of alum; at others, by drinking cold water in hot weather, when the body is in a state of perspiration; it arises occasionally from injudicious exposure to the sun in summer; but its most frequent source is dissipation. Catarrh or influenza is sometimes almost epidemic in the colony: it seldom proves fatal to persons in the prime of life, but old people and children are apt to sink under it. There have been at least five visitations of this epidemic experienced in New South Wales, within my own recollection. Cases of consumption have occasionally occurred and terminated fatally among the native youth of the colony, but they are by no means frequent; and Europeans who have brought the genuine *phthisis pulmonalis* along with them to the country, sink at last under the fatal influence of its deadly virus, although, humanly speaking, they may be said to add three or four years to their lives by going to New South Wales. I have known of a few cases of gout in the colony, but they have uniformly exhibited the same filial relation to brandy and port wine, which distinguishes that disease in the mother country; but cases of inflammation, arising doubtless in great measure from the use of stimulants, either directly or indirectly, are by no means rare. I have also had frequent occasion to observe that diseases in New South Wales are more frequently attended with a speedy and entire prostration of the intellectual powers than in England; and the diseases that do attack the human frame in the colony are generally more acute, and arrive more speedily at their crisis.

The horrible disease called *delirium tremens*, or the trembling madness, is of frequent occurrence, and sometimes terminates fatally: it is uniformly the effect of excessive dissipation, aggravated probably by the heat of the climate in summer, and by the deleterious substances

with which the publicans of the colony are known to adulterate their ardent spirits. The patient under this disease is distracted with imaginary terrors ; he fancies himself haunted by apparitions ; the whole frame quakes convulsively under the influence of a diseased imagination, and the nervous system is so unnaturally excited, that the bodily functions are intermittent or deranged, and death frequently ensues. The exorcising of devils is a branch of clerical duty which in Protestant countries has generally fallen into disuse, and is supposed to be practised only by the Roman Catholic priesthood in the wilder parts of Ireland or Spain. I have twice, however, been applied to for that purpose, by patients labouring under this frightful disease in New South Wales. One of the cases was that of an unfortunate countryman of my own ; a free emigrant from the Highlands of Scotland. In what form the devil used to appear to him, I do not recollect; but it seems he had been incessantly at his window for a whole fortnight before he informed me of his calamitous situation. It was about the middle of January at the time ; and as I was previously unacquainted with the man's character and history, and therefore deemed it expedient to proceed with caution, I observed that Christmas, which had occurred very recently, was a season at which many people in the colony were apt to exceed the bounds of moderation ; that it was possible he might have erred in the same way himself ; and that if he had, I was not surprised at the visitation he had experienced, for the devil seemed to have great power in all cases of that kind in New South Wales. The Celt acknowledged in reply that he had not suffered either Christmas or New Year's Day to pass without due commemoration ; and even admitted—with the scrupulous caution, however, peculiar to the Celtic portion of my countrymen, in all cases in which their own character or interest is concerned—that *he might have taken more on*

both occasions than was likely to do him good ; but he could not see why that should entitle the devil to mark him out as the special object of his annoyance, by presenting himself incessantly at his window, and *tempting him with more brandy and other such temptations*. He promised, however, to follow my advice for the future, and to try what effect sobriety would have in keeping the Tempter at a more respectful distance.

There was something peculiar in the Highlander's history ; and I was sorry to find that he had been unfairly dealt with by certain parties in the colony, from whom he had been entitled to expect very different treatment. I accordingly wrote a memorial on his behalf to General Darling, the Governor at the time, through which he was fortunate enough to obtain a grant of five hundred acres of land. Finding, besides, that he was a man of no decision of character, and that he was consequently liable to be led astray in Sydney, I found ways and means of getting him packed off to his land, which was situated at a considerable distance on the coast, and on which he promised to settle : but on returning to the colony after my third voyage to England, in the year 1834, I was sorry to find that he had sold one half of the land to a publican in Sydney, and that he was both frequent and protracted in his visits to the publican's on the strength of the remaining moiety. On one of these occasions, he had been drinking in the *Tap* overnight, and had fallen asleep with his head leaning on his hands at the table, in which condition he was left by the publican's family on going to bed. On opening their house at an early hour on the following morning, he was still apparently asleep at the table ; but, on trying to awake him, they found he was dead !

Either the Royal College of Physicians, or one of the other medical boards of London, transmitted a series of questions many years ago to certain medical gentlemen in

the colony, to ascertain the average duration of human life in New South Wales : it is scarcely possible, however, to arrive at accurate conclusions on such a subject for many years to come. I am inclined to believe that the probabilities of life, for any number of children born in the colony, are higher than for a similar number born in England, but that fewer of that number are likely to reach extreme old age than in Great Britain. In short, the lamp of life in the salubrious climate of New South Wales is like a taper immersed in a vessel filled with oxygen gas ; it burns more brightly than in common air, but is sooner extinguished.

Persons of temperate habits, who have passed the meridian of life before their arrival, are doubtless likely to live longer in New South Wales than they would have done in England. Individual cases are certainly no rule to judge by; but I may be permitted to mention the singular case of an old man of the name of Wright, who had been many years in the colony, and who died in the Benevolent Asylum in Sydney, at a hundred and five years of age. The only coherent words he uttered, for two or three years before his death, were such as he had doubtless been accustomed to use when a whole century younger, for he was frequently heard calling for—his mother !

In the Appendix, No. II., will be found a Table from the Vital Statistics of the Colony for the year 1872 (page 14), compiled by E. G. Ward, Esq., Registrar-General of the Colony, exhibiting a classification of the diseases that terminated fatally in Sydney and throughout the colony during that year.

The salubrity of the climate of New South Wales is doubtless owing, in great measure, to the extreme dryness of the atmosphere ; the common hygrometer of Europe usually standing at zero in Australia.⁸ This remarkable

⁸ It has lately been supposed that the salubrity of the Australian

fact depends in no degree on the absolute quantity of rain that falls during the year, as compared with the fall in Europe ; for I shall show presently that the annual fall of rain in New South Wales is much greater than in England —at all events than in London. It is due to other and perhaps occult causes, and may simply be regarded as an ultimate and indisputable fact. One of these causes, however, is unquestionably the character of the indigenous vegetation ; which is not deciduous, as in Europe and America, and does not form annual layers of vegetable soil, as in many localities in these countries, to generate malaria and fever. In happy compensation for a lighter soil, we have thus both a healthier climate and a comparatively open country which, in its natural state, affords an unlimited range of pasture for sheep and cattle. The indigenous vegetation of Australia is generally evergreen, or as Mr. Commissioner Bigge humorously and not inaptly termed it, *nevergreen*—exhibiting rather the sombre tints of autumn than the bright green of a European summer. Besides, the leaves of the Australian forest, with the exception of the rank vegetation of the alluvial lands on the banks of rivers, bear no proportion, either in weight and quantity, or in the amount of shade which they furnish, to those of the European forests. They are generally spiral in their form, and the empyreumatic oil, which they give out under the influence of the sun's rays, must have a salutary effect upon the atmosphere, while the amount of residuum which they leave to be added to the soil is next to nothing.

Another obvious cause of the extreme dryness of the atmosphere in Australia is the physical character of the interior towards the centre of the continent, a great portion

climate is owing, in some degree, to the prevalence of the blue gum-trees, or eucalyptus, in the native forests, the leaves of that tree having, in some measure, the properties of the chincona, or Peruvian bark.

of which has now been definitively ascertained to be a desert; the long-cherished idea of there being an extensive inland sea being now completely exploded. Seventy years ago—consequently long before anything could be known of the nature of the interior of Australia—the extreme dryness, as well as the high temperature of the land winds, on all parts of the coast of the Australian continent, had been noticed by that able and accurate observer, M. Peron, Naturalist and Historian of the French Expedition of Discovery to the coast of Australia, to which I have already had occasion to allude.*

The hot north-west winds of New South Wales, to which M. Peron alludes in the passage I have just quoted below, constitute one of the most remarkable phenomena in the meteorology of that country. These winds occur on an average three or four times every summer, and blow from twenty-four to thirty-six hours each time, the atmosphere all the while feeling like a current of heated

* "Les vents qui traversent la Nouvelle Hollande du N.O. au S.E. se présentent, dans le comté de Cumberland, avec le double caractère d'une sécheresse et d'une ardeur extrêmes, malgré l'étendue et la hauteur des montagnes au-dessus desquelles ils passent pour arriver jusqu'à ce dernier point.

"Déjà, sur les côtes de la terre de Leeuwin, les vents de l'est à l'ouest nous avoient offert des qualités analogues : nous avons vu, depuis l'extremité sud de la terre Diemen, les mêmes phénomènes accompagner les vents du nord, qui ne pouvoient cependant y parvenir qu'après avoir traversé les hautes montagnes du promontoire de Wilson, celles des îles Furneaux, le détroit de Bass, et les sommets de la terre de Diemen elle-même, qui paroissent devoir être éternellement glacés. Nous nous trouvons donc conduits par l'ensemble de toutes les observations de ce genre à cette seconde conséquence, plus générale que la première.

"2. Tous les vents qui traversent la Nouvelle Hollande du nord au sud, de l'est à l'ouest et du N.O. au S.E. sont les vents brûlans et secs."—*Voyage des Découvertes aux Terres Australes*, &c. tom. i. p. 400.

air from a furnace, and the thermometer generally standing at from 90° to 100° of Fahrenheit. It has stood as high on one occasion within my own experience as 112 $\frac{1}{2}$ °. The day I allude to was a Sunday, in the month of February, 1824. I had to perform divine service twice during the hottest part of the day; but I confess I experienced very little inconvenience from the heat—less, indeed, than I have felt in a crowded church in Scotland. This is to be ascribed entirely to the extreme dryness of the atmosphere in New South Wales; for in a dry atmosphere one is able to bear a much greater degree, either of heat or of cold, than when the atmosphere is charged with moisture. In the humid atmosphere of England, such a degree of heat would be extremely oppressive, if not quite intolerable. From the same cause, also, their extreme aridity, these hot winds are perfectly innocuous; and they have no such depressing influence on the spirits as the Italian sirocco.¹

When the hot wind has spent its strength, it is usually succeeded instantaneously by a violent gust from the southward, which immediately envelopes the city of Sydney in a whirlwind of dust, and sometimes proves fatal to inexperienced boating-parties in the harbour. I have observed the hot wind terminate instantaneously in a hailstorm of a few minutes' duration, from the south-westward, which, of course, caused the mercury in the thermometer to descend with surprising velocity; the difference of elevation, after a short interval, being on one

¹ I was travelling by mail from Wagga Wagga, which is 315 miles south-west from Sydney, when a hot north-west wind was blowing in the middle of December last (1873), I think on the 16th of that month. The thermometer that day was 115° at Wentworth, 500 miles down the Murray river, 113° at Albury, 110° at Wagga Wagga, and 109° at Grenfell. I did not experience much inconvenience from the heat.

occasion, when the wind had been unusually hot, not less than 40°.*

That these winds originate in a Great Central Desert is abundantly evident from the following facts, viz. :

1. They are scarcely known at Port Macquarie, in latitude $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and are not known at all at Moreton Bay, in $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south latitude ; these localities being too far to the northward and eastward to allow a north-west wind from that region to reach them.*

2. The hot winds are much more strongly felt to the westward of the Australian Andes than on the east coast. I have observed, in the south-west interior (to the west-

* In the month of February, 1835, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer descended 25° in twenty minutes : this remarkable descent occurred about six o'clock in the evening, and was noticed in the Observatory at Parramatta. There had been a hot wind during the day, the mercury having previously stood for some time at 107° of Fahrenheit. But $107^{\circ}-25^{\circ}=82^{\circ}$, which is still a sufficiently high temperature. Even 40° from 107° would only reduce the temperature to 67° , which is still high enough.

* "The climate of the district of Port Macquarie," Mr. Hodgkinson alleges, "is much more agreeable than that of Sydney ; the mountains approaching nearer to the coast collect the vapours of the sea, and cause more frequent rains ; in summer, especially, the heat is mitigated by many heavy thunder showers. Notwithstanding its comparative vicinity to the tropics, Port Macquarie seems almost entirely exempt from those hot scorching winds which so frequently occur during the summer months at Sydney ; or, if they ever happen in the Port Macquarie district, they are so slight as to be scarcely felt. Those sudden, violent gusts of wind, also, from the south, which generally happen at the close of a hot day in Sydney, raising dense clouds of dust in the air, and causing the thermometer to fall 20° in a quarter of an hour, are comparatively unknown in the county of Macquarie. The north-eastern part of the territory of New South Wales, between the great main range, dividing the eastern and western waters, and the ocean, has never experienced such long desolating droughts as those which have occasionally been felt in the central and western parts of New South Wales."—*Hodgkinson, ubi supra*, p. 77.

ward of the Australian Alps), many more cases of that affection of the eyes which the colonists call *blight*, than I have ever seen on the eastern coast. The hot winds have a much more withering and scorching influence in those regions, and their power of evaporation is much greater.⁴

3. In New South Wales and Victoria, especially the latter, the hot winds are uniformly north-west winds; but at Adelaide, in South Australia, due south from the supposed centre of the Great Central Desert, they are north winds; while on the south coast, to the westward, between Fowler's Bay, in 122° east longitude, and the head of the Great Australian Bight, they were found by Mr. Eyre to be north-east winds.⁵ At Cape Leeuwin,

⁴ Count Strzelecki calculates that a hot wind increases the mean temperature of a summer day 40° to the westward of the mountains, and from 25° to 30° to the eastward. The evaporation from water in three hours before the hot wind was 0·045 of an inch; during the hot wind, in the same time, it was 0·150 of an inch, or more than three times the amount. The Mount Alexander diggings in Victoria, being much farther to the westward, and having no high land between them and the Central Desert, have been much more afflicted with cases of ophthalmia than the Turon diggings, in New South Wales.

⁵ "Jan. 6th.—The weather was most intensely hot, a strong wind blowing from the north-east, throwing upon us an oppressive and scorching current of heated air, like the hot blast of a furnace. There was no misunderstanding the nature of the country from which such a wind came: often as I had been annoyed by the heat, I had never experienced anything like it before. Had anything been wanting to confirm my previous opinion of the arid and desert character of the great mass of the interior of Australia, this wind would have been quite sufficient for that purpose. From those who differ from me in opinion, I would ask, Could such a wind be wasted over an inland sea?"—*Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia, and Overland to King George's Sound*, by E. J. Eyre, Esq., afterwards Lieut.-Governor of New Zealand, and subsequently, Governor of Jamaica, vol. i. p. 273.

N.B.—This occurred between Fowler's Bay, long. 132° E., and the head of the Great Australian Bight.

[“Several

and on the west coast, M. Peron found them to be east winds; and between latitude 23° and 21° towards the east coast, Dr. Leichhardt found them to be west and south-west winds.*

There is no doubt, however, that the dimensions of the supposed Great Central Desert of Australia have been somewhat curtailed by the subsequent discoveries of the late Mr. Stuart of South Australia; and the question as to the origin of the hot winds is therefore still unsolved.

The hot wind of Australia, although remarkably different from the Italian sirocco, is in some respects similar to an easterly wind which prevails during the same months on the west coast of Africa, and is called by the natives *harmattan*. It is thus described in the Philosophical Transactions, for 1781 :—

“ On that part of the coast of Africa which lies between Cape Verde and Cape Lopez, a singular periodical easterly wind, named by the natives *harmattan*, prevails during

“ Several circumstances connected with my own personal experience have led me to the conclusion that there is no inland sea now occupying the centre of New Holland.

“ First, I may mention, the hot winds, which in South Australia, or opposite the centre of the continent, always blow from the north. To those who have experienced the oppressive and scorching influence of these winds, which can only be compared to the fiery and withering blasts from a heated furnace, I need hardly point out that there is little probability that such winds can have been wafted over a large expanse of water.

“ Secondly, between the Darling River and the head of the Great Australian Bight, the Aborigines know of no large body of water inland, fresh or salt; there were neither trees nor ranges, but all was an arid waste so far as they were accustomed to travel.”—*Ib.* p. 137.

“ ‘It was here’ (from lat. 23° to $21^{\circ} 40'$), ‘that we felt for the last time a hot wind, *from the west and south-west*; which direction points to that desert interior which even the persevering boldness of Captain Sturt has not been able to conquer.’”—*Dr. Leichhardt’s Two Lectures in the School of Arts, Sydney, August, 1846.*

the months of December, January, and February. Cape Lopez lies to the southward of the line. At the Isles de Los, which lie to the northward of Sierra Leone, the wind blows from the S.S.E.; on the Gold Coast, from the N.E.; and at Cape Lopez, and the River Gaboon, from the N.N.E.

"The harmattan comes on as above described. A fog or haze always accompanies it, and the gloom is sometimes so great as to render near objects obscure. The sun is thus concealed the greatest part of the day, and appears only a few hours about noon, and then of a mild red colour. At two or three miles from shore, the fog is not so thick as on the beach; and at four or five leagues' distance, it is entirely lost, though the harmattan is felt for ten or twelve leagues, and blows fresh enough to alter the course of the current.

"*Extreme dryness is a property of this wind. No dew falls during its continuance, nor is there the least appearance of moisture in the atmosphere. All vegetables are much injured, and many destroyed.* The seams in the sides and decks of ships become very leaky, though the planks are two or three inches thick. Iron-bound casks require the hoops to be frequently drawn tighter, and a cask of rum or brandy can scarcely be preserved; for unless kept constantly moistened, the hoops fly off. The harmattan has likewise very disagreeable effects on the skin, lips, and nose, which become sore.

"*The effects of the harmattan in evaporation are great, as will appear by the following comparative statement:—At Liverpool, the annual evaporation is about 36 inches; at the Whydah, 64 inches; but, under the influence of the harmattan, 133 inches.*

"This wind, though so prejudicial to vegetable life, is highly conducive to health; so that fluxes, fevers, small-pox, &c., generally disappear in spite of the doctor; and

it contributes to the cure of ulcers and cutaneous eruptions." ⁷

I have already observed that the humidity or aridity of the climate of any particular country does not depend on the absolute quantity of rain that falls in that country, as compared with others; for, on this principle, Australia ought to have a much more humid climate than England, which it certainly has not. From the following Register of the quantities of rain that have fallen in Sydney during the ten years commencing in 1860, it will be seen that the average fall of rain, in New South Wales, is much greater than that of England.

Quantities of Rain registered as fallen, (at the Sydney Observatory) during the following years :—

1860	.	.	.	82·801	inches.
1861	.	.	.	58·360	"
1862	.	.	.	23·980	"
1863	.	.	.	47·080	"
1864	.	.	.	69·120	"
1865	.	.	.	36·278	"
1866	.	.	.	36·800	"
1867	.	.	.	50·680	"
1868	.	.	.	43·580	"
1869	.	.	.	48·190	"

$$496\cdot869 \quad , \quad \div 10 = 49\cdot686.$$

The average rainfall, therefore, for the ten years, was 49·686 inches.

The average for other ten years at the South Head Station, which is close upon the Pacific, was 49·107 inches.

According to Count Strzelecki, the annual average fall of rain, in the moist climate of London, is only 22·19 inches. Consequently, the annual fall of rain in New South Wales, 49·107 inches, is considerably more than double the annual fall in that part of England. It also exceeds that of Vic-

⁷ Paper in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxxi., for the year 1781, by Matthew Dobson, M.D., F.R.S.

toria, which is stated by Count Strzelecki, at 30·72 inches, and that of Tasmania, which is 41·28 inches. But the fall of rain in the northern division of New South Wales is much greater than at Port Jackson; the average rainfall for certain years at Port Macquarie being 73·46 inches, while it was less than fifty during the same period at Port Jackson.⁸

Notwithstanding this great annual fall of rain, however, in New South Wales, it had been a very general observation for a series of years, but certainly not during the last ten years, that the climate had been gradually becoming drier and hotter every year; that the surface water had been disappearing in many localities in which it was formerly abundant; that streams which were navigable for boats forty years ago, for many miles towards their sources, were so no longer; that large lagoons and apparently permanent water-holes had in many places dried up, the beds of the lagoons becoming arable land of the first quality; that extensive swamps had been converted, by a mere process of nature and without the aid of man, into grassy meadows, and that the water, even in wells, had been gradually sinking to a lower level, to which it had to be followed by the well-sinker, year after year.⁹ To account for this remarkable and somewhat serious phenomenon, certain colonial philosophers were in the habit of ascribing this gradual process of desiccation to the progress of cultivation,

⁸ In the Appendix, No. III., will be found a table copied from the Vital Statistics of the Colony, and compiled by E. G. Ward, Esq., Registrar-General of the Colony, which shows the mean number of deaths in Sydney in each month, for the last ten years, as also the mean temperature, the mean height of barometer, the rainfall, and the mean amount of ozone for each of these months respectively.

⁹ This process of dessication does not seem to have been in progress during the past ten years.

supposing that the same change must have been taking place in the Australian climate, and from precisely the same cause, as is generally supposed to have taken place in Germany and France, as compared with the state of these countries in the times of the Romans. But the extent of cultivation in New South Wales has hitherto been too insignificant to have produced the slightest conceivable effect upon the climate; and the change that has taken place has been observed in districts in which there has been no cultivation whatever. Another cause must therefore be sought for, to explain this remarkable phenomenon; and such a cause it is not difficult to find.

The country in its natural state, before it was covered with the flocks and herds of the colonists, was enveloped, so to speak, in a mantle of indigenous grass; which in newly-discovered tracts was generally tall enough to reach the saddle-girths of the explorer, and waved luxuriantly, as far as the eye could reach, over the treeless or thinly-wooded plains like a European harvest. This natural covering served a twofold purpose—it protected the thin surface soil of the natural pastures from the direct rays of the sun, while it absorbed much of the rain that fell; which was thus left to soak gradually into the earth, and served to feed innumerable swamps, lagoons, water-holes, rills and rivers. But only imagine the wonderful change that must necessarily have taken place on the surface of such a country, after turning loose upon it year after year seventeen millions of sheep, two millions of horned cattle, and upwards of three hundred thousand horses! Sheep, it is well known, eat down the grass to the very roots; often even destroying the roots altogether, so that the grass never springs again, while large patches of ground are left as bare as the highway. All these descriptions of stock also not only eat down the grass, but trample down the soil, and harden it into a consistency sufficient to resist the entrance of the

rain-water that falls upon it or passes over it. The general result of these agencies is that the country, being denuded in a great measure of its natural covering, while the soil is gradually hardened by the trampling of the stock and by its exposure to the direct rays of the sun, the rain, how abundant soever, runs off in innumerable torrents as fast as it falls, and the scene so graphically described by the patriarch Job—of a company of travellers coming, in expectation of finding water, to the dry bed of one of these torrents, and finding the water all gone—is unhappily realized.

"My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook, and as the stream of brooks they pass away; which are blackish by reason of the ice, and wherein the snow is hid: what time they wax warm, they vanish: when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place. The paths of their way are turned aside; they go to nothing and perish. The troops of Tema looked, the companies of Sheba waited for them. They were confounded because they had hoped; they came thither, and were ashamed."—*Job vi. 15—20.*

The large Australian export of wool, tallow, hides, &c., has not therefore been realized without considerable loss: the production of it has deteriorated the country in many localities in a very sensible degree; and, unless some great effort, or rather series of efforts, is made to prevent it, this process of deterioration will go on increasing for a long time to come.

The grand problem in Australia, therefore, is "how to retain the surface water that falls so abundantly from the heavens, and to store it up in suitable reservoirs, for the purposes of man." And it is gratifying to think that this can be done in a thousand localities with perfect facility; for if only one tenth part of the skill and labour that are constantly employed in Old Holland in keeping out the superfluous water, were employed in New Holland in storing it up for future use, an abundant and constant supply for all purposes might be ensured in every im-

portant locality in the colony. There are numberless places in New South Wales in which a mere embankment thrown across the mouth of a ravine would not only insure an ample supply of excellent water for the whole neighbourhood, but form a beautiful lake to diversify and improve the scenery. There are numerous other localities in which water could easily be collected in natural hollows from the surrounding heights; and tanks and reservoirs could be constructed for their own purposes by private individuals, while others, on a much larger scale, could be formed for the use of the public. In such a climate as that of New South Wales, the command of water is an indispensable necessity for the agriculturist; for with that adjunct he will often be able to raise four times the amount of produce from the same quantity of land that he could raise without it. But irrigation, without which, in other countries of a similar climate, cultivation is never attempted, has in no instance, that I am aware of, been even tried in New South Wales; and the colonist, who traverses successive tracts of the finest pastoral country, as far perhaps as from Dan to Beersheba, in search of a run for his rapidly increasing flocks and herds, but who finds no water-holes—that is no ready-made wells—on its surface, will be sure to tell you on his return that “it is all barren.” In his last expedition to the interior, Sir Thomas Mitchell found a tract of good pastoral country of half a million of acres in the vicinity of the Bogan River, one of the tributaries of the Darling, entirely deserted, from the failure of the natural surface water;¹ but how easily could a reservoir

¹ “Nothing is so likely to increase these evils as the precarious or temporary occupation of such a country. The supply of water must continue uncertain so long as there is no inducement from actual possession to form dams, and by means of art to secure the full benefit of the natural supply. Hence it is that half a million of acres, covered with the finest grass, have been abandoned, and even savages

be constructed in such a country, where the supply amounts occasionally to a general inundation, to insure abundance in all seasons both for man and beast! The patriarchs had their wells to dig,² and occasionally even to defend, in the Holy Land and the surrounding wilderness; and the cisterns and wells that are so often spoken of in Holy Scripture were, in most cases, merely tanks or reservoirs, excavated in the limestone rock of the country, for storing up the surface water. The colonist of New South Wales, who enjoys a similar climate, must therefore be prepared in future to follow the Scriptural example.

Certain of the rivers of New South Wales, and particularly the Hume or Murray, which forms the southern boundary of the colony towards Victoria or Port Phillip, present admirable facilities for the formation of such permanent reservoirs for irrigation, as well as for all the other purposes of man. Like most of the other Australian rivers, the Hume or Murray is subject to occasional floods; and there is a beautiful provision of nature, which constitutes one of its peculiar characteristics, for carrying off from the main stream of the river a portion at least of the superfluous water in times of flood. Parallel to the river banks there is a series of long narrow lagoons, like the artificial lake Moeris on the banks of the Nile in ancient Egypt, which are filled as the water rises in the bed of the

smile at the want of generalship by which they have been allowed to burn the white man's dairy station and stockyards on the banks of the Bogan."—*Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia*, by Sir T. L. Mitchell, p. 424. By digging wells at no great depth from the surface, this whole tract of country has since been abundantly supplied with water.

² The reader will find some very interesting extracts on the cisterns and reservoirs of Ancient Palestine, from the Travels of Professor Robinson and the Rev. Eli Smith, of New York, in the Holy Land, in Appendix No. IV.

river, and which empty themselves into it again to a certain depth, as the river falls. The small modicum of art and labour that would be necessary, in such circumstances, in aid of this great self-adjusting process of nature, would convert any number of these lagoons into permanent reservoirs, so as to enable the beautiful and fertile plains for hundreds of miles along this noble river, to sustain a population of millions.

Reservoirs of this kind along the valleys of the Murray and the Darling, as well as in the settled parts of the colony generally, would tend also to modify and improve the climate, from the extensive evaporation which would ensue.⁸

⁸ "The climate," says Count Strzelecki, "however, though both drier and hotter, is far from being improved. A still further development of the science and industry of civilization is wanted to check the evils with which the lack of moisture, and the presence of parching heat, threaten the interests of agriculture.

"Irrigation becomes the first measure with which the agricultural improvement of Australia must begin. Its introduction in Australia is both practicable and easy. To restrain the extraordinary fall of rivers by damming up their courses, to make reservoirs, or to restore the old natural basins of lakes in the upper country; to bring the waters in their gradual descent to bear on the agricultural land, or to raise them by simple contrivances of windmills, pumps, or hydraulic belts, to the required level, still remain as means of irrigation to be adopted; the trouble and cost of which have been much exaggerated, but which have been most extensively accomplished by people of less energy, less industry, and less capital than the Australian settler possesses; subject also to trammels and restraints, on the part of their unenlightened rulers, of which the Australian can scarcely form any idea.

"In New South Wales, the river Karua, and the tributaries of the Hunter, afford a most extensive range for the introduction of irrigation: the whole county of Cumberland may also be laid out in irrigated lands, by means of the Grose, Warragumby, Hawkesbury, and Nepean rivers, and with the aid of cheap wooden aqueducts. The river Nepean, for the county of Camden; the Wollondilly, for Argyle-

shire ; the river Cox, for the vale of Clwyd, and the Campbell and Macquarie, for Bathurst ; all offer most valuable water-courses for reclaiming or for increasing the productiveness of the comparatively sterile lands."—*Strzelecki, ubi suprad.*

To the same effect Sir Thomas Mitchell writes as follows, of New South Wales :—

"There is no region of earth susceptible of so much improvement solely by the labour and ingenuity of man. If there be no navigable rivers, there are no unwholesome savannahs ; if there are rocky ranges, they afford, at least, the means of forming reservoirs of water ; and although it is there uncertain when rain may fall, it is certain that an abundant supply does fall ; and the hand of man alone is wanting to preserve that supply and regulate its use. In such a clime, and under such a sun, that most important of elements in cultivation—water—could thus be rendered much more subservient to many uses than it is in other warm regions, where, if the general vegetation be more luxuriant, the air is less salubrious. Sufficient water for all purposes of cultivation, health, and enjoyment, is quite at the command of art and industry in this most luxuriant of climates."—*Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia*, by Sir T. L. Mitchell, &c. p. 424.

CHAPTER II.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

"Pâturage et labourage sont les deux mamelles qui nourrissent la France, et qui valent mieux que tout l'or du Pérou."—*Sully*.

"Grazing and Agriculture are the two breasts that nourish France, and they are far better than all the gold of Peru."

By natural productions, which may perhaps be deemed a questionable designation, I understand merely those that do not imply the previous cultivation of the soil. They are of three kinds, viz. : Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral.

I. Of the animal productions of New South Wales, the first and the most important is wool, of which the quantity produced in the colony, and exported to Great Britain and elsewhere in the year 1872, was 37,999,509 lbs. (thirty-seven million, nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand, five hundred and nine pounds), of which the estimated value was 2,496,509*l.*

As the origin and history of a branch of colonial trade, which has thus attained a degree of importance, and raised the Australian colonies to a pitch of general prosperity, never anticipated by the most sanguine of their founders, cannot fail to be interesting, even to the general reader, I shall make no apology for inserting the following historical sketch of its rise and progress.

In the year 1792 or 1793, a few English sheep, which had been accidentally carried out from Ireland, were landed in New South Wales ; and the late John Macarthur, Esq., who was then resident in the colony as captain and pay-

master of the New South Wales Corps, observing the effect produced by their accidental crossing with the sheep of the hair-bearing breeds from the Cape of Good Hope and Bengal, of which there was then a considerable number in the colony, his attention was strongly directed to the subject of the improvement of coarse-woollen sheep, and the growth of wool in New South Wales. The effect of the crossing was a decided improvement of the animals—the hairy coat of the progeny of the Cape and Bengal breeds being gradually converted into wool—while the influence of the climate on the fleece of sheep generally was decidedly favourable. Shortly after this interesting fact had been ascertained, Captain Waterhouse, a naval officer who was then in the colony, having been ordered to proceed to the Cape in command of a vessel in His Majesty's service, Captain Macarthur requested him particularly to endeavour to procure a few sheep of improved breed in that colony, and to bring them to New South Wales ; offering to share with him in the cost and in the general result of the speculation. Captain Waterhouse never returned to the colony ; but the commission with which he had been charged by Captain Macarthur was duly executed by Captain Kent, who, on his return to the colony in charge of the vessel previously under the command of Captain Waterhouse, in the year 1796, brought along with him a few sheep of the pure Merino breed, which he had purchased at the Cape, at the sale of the property and effects of Colonel Gordon, an officer of Scotch extraction in the Dutch service, then recently deceased. On their arrival in the colony, these sheep were equally divided between Captain Macarthur, Captain Kent, Captain Cox (afterwards paymaster of the New South Wales Corps), and the Rev. Mr. Marsden ; Captain Macarthur obtaining five ewes and one ram. It appears, however, that Captain Macarthur alone paid the requisite attention to these valuable animals, which it seems were made little

account of and neglected by the other gentlemen; and his perseverance in the matter not unfrequently exposed him to no small degree of ridicule on the part of his contemporaries. By his persevering attention Captain Macarthur at length formed a considerable flock, which was afterwards greatly increased about the year 1803, by his purchase of the whole of the sheep and other stock of Colonel (afterwards General) Foveaux.

It is interesting to notice the opinions expressed by a highly intelligent foreigner as to the prospects of the colony from this particular source of wealth, at this early period of its history and progress. The French Expedition of Discovery, which visited New South Wales in the year 1802, had not overlooked the improvement which had taken place in the Australian fleece, or the growing importance of this branch of trade, even to Great Britain. "It is in these pasture-grounds," observes M. Peron, the naturalist and historian of the expedition—alluding apparently to a visit he had paid to Parramatta, "that the rich and numerous flocks of sheep, of which we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere, are depastured. The genial temperature of the climate, the absence of beasts of prey of all descriptions, and the peculiar nature and agreeable perfume of the native herbage, have proved so favourable to these precious animals, that the finest races both of Spain and England succeed equally well. Already, we are told, the wool of these Antarctic animals surpasses the rich fleeces of Asturia; and the London manufacturers, who pay a higher price for it, prefer it considerably. In the general picture of the English colonies in Australia, I shall insist in a particular manner on this object, *which appears likely to open to Great Britain a new branch of commerce, as easy as it is profitable.*"¹

¹ "C'est au milieu de ces pâtrages que vivent les riches et nombreux troupeaux de moutons divers, dont nous aurons à parler

About this period, Colonel Patterson, of the New South Wales Corps, having challenged Captain Macarthur to fight a duel, from some circumstance which I have not been able to ascertain, a meeting between the parties took place ; and Colonel Patterson being wounded by his antagonist, Governor King placed Captain Macarthur under arrest, and published severe animadversions on his conduct in a General Order. Conceiving himself injured, Captain Macarthur solicited a court-martial : this, however, the Governor peremptorily refused, and actually sent him home as a prisoner to England. This circumstance, which Captain Macarthur naturally considered a great hardship at the time, proved eventually very fortunate for that gentleman ; for, having taken home with him samples of his wool, they were accidentally shown to the principal manufacturers of the article in England ; who, in consequence of a particular occurrence in connexion with the woollen manufacture at that period, were disposed to regard them with peculiar interest.

About the year 1804, the workmen employed in the great woollen manufactories in England had discovered an obsolete statute of Queen Elizabeth, prohibiting woollen manufacturers from employing any person in any branch of that occupation who had not served a regular apprenticeship :

ailleurs. La douce température de ces climats, l'absence de toute espèce d'animaux féroces, la nature particulière et l'odeur agréable de la plupart des végétaux, ont été si favorable à ces bêtes précieuses, que les plus belles races de l'Espagne et de l'Angleterre y réussissent également bien. Déjà la laine de ces animaux antarctiques l'emporte, dit-on, sur les riches toisons de l'Asturie, et les fabricans de Londres, qui la payent plus cher, l'estiment aussi davantage. Dans le tableau général des colonies Angloises aux Terres Australes, j'insisterai d'une manière spéciale sur cet objet qui semble devoir ouvrir à la Grande Bretagne une nouvelle branche de commerce aussi ~~seule~~ que lucrative."—*Voyage des Découvertes aux Terres Australes*, p. 381.

proceedings were accordingly commenced against the manufacturers, on the part of the workmen, by memorializing and petitioning the Government to have the statute of Elizabeth enforced. As this would have subjected the manufacturers to great inconvenience and loss, a reply to the memorial of the workmen was made on the part of the Committee of Manufacturers, setting forth that similar statutes had been enacted for the protection of the operatives in cotton manufactories, but had subsequently been repealed, in consequence of their being found opposed to the commercial interests of the country, and of unjust operation. To this it was replied, on the part of the workmen, that cotton being an article of *unlimited production*, it was found necessary to remove the restrictions imposed under the statutes in question, to afford all possible encouragement to its manufacture; whereas wool being an article of very *limited production*, the parallel could not hold. In this conjuncture, Captain Macarthur's specimens of Australian wool being produced and referred to as a proof that that article could be raised of superior quality and to an unlimited extent within the territorial possessions of the empire, the case was decided in favour of the manufacturers, and strong recommendations were addressed, on behalf of Captain Macarthur and his important object, to the Secretary of State.

The discouragements, however, with which Mr. Macarthur,—who now retired from the army, and settled in the colony, as a merchant and stockholder,—had to struggle through a long series of years, in demonstrating the practicability of producing fine wool in New South Wales to an unlimited extent, were sufficient to have paralyzed the energies of a less energetic mind; and the obligations under which he has consequently laid the colony in all time coming, through his unremitting perseverance and unexampled success, are great beyond calculation. The peculiar adaptation of

the climate of New South Wales to the constitution and habits of fine woolled sheep, and the capabilities of the colony for the production of that valuable article of export to any conceivable extent, would doubtless have been discovered sooner or later by some other inhabitant of the colony, even if they had not been ascertained and demonstrated by Mr. Macarthur: but this possibility does not in the least detract from the merit of that gentleman as a real benefactor of his adopted country; for the very same remark is applicable in the very same manner to the noble invention of Guttenberg, and the splendid discoveries of Columbus.*

* Extract from the examination of John Macarthur, Esq., barrister, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Gaols, in the year 1819:—

"About the year 1793, the late Lieutenant-General Grose, influenced by the severe distress that had prevailed throughout the colony of New South Wales, considered it expedient to promote cultivation by giving grants of land to the civil and military officers under his command; and amongst the persons so encouraged was Mr. Macarthur, then a captain in the regiment stationed in the colony. He immediately devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, and some years after was so fortunate as to obtain three or four Merino sheep, imported from the Cape of Good Hope, to which place they had been sent from Europe, as a present to the Dutch Governor.

"Conceiving the climate to be admirably adapted to the growth of fine wool, Mr. Macarthur was induced to pay particular attention to the crossing and increase of this breed of sheep. In 1804 he returned to England, and a few specimens of the wool raised by him were accidentally seen by a Committee of Manufacturers of woollen cloth, then assembled in London. After making inquiries they expressed a decided opinion that the colony of New South Wales would, with proper encouragement, be enabled to supply the manufactoryes of this country with a great portion of the fine wool which was then with difficulty obtained from Spain. They attached great importance to this object, and communicated their opinions to Government by memorials; in consequence of which, Mr. Macarthur was directed to attend the Privy Council, before whom he was

During the ten years that had elapsed from the first muster after Governor Macquarie's arrival in the year 1810 to the annual muster in 1820, the sheep of the colony had increased from 25,888 to 99,428; Mr. Macarthur's flock being at the latter period 6800, of which 300 were pure Merinos. During the administrations of Sir Thomas Brisbane and Sir Ralph Darling, it became a matter of controversy in the colony, whether the Merino or the Saxon breed—of which a few sheep had been introduced into Tasmania, direct from Germany, in the early part of the year 1823, by the ship "Andromeda," the vessel in which I arrived for the first time in the Australian colonies—produced the finest wool and was most profitable for the sheep-farmer. The preference, however, is now generally given to the Saxon breed, which, it is well known to persons acquainted with sheep-farming, was itself originally of Merino extraction. Several cargoes of Saxon sheep have at different times been imported into the colony by different examined as to the state of his flocks, and the probability of their future improvement.

"Satisfied on these points, and also of the utility of the undertaking, the Privy Council recommended Mr. Macarthur to the attention of Lord Camden, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, and pointed out the propriety of promoting his plans by a grant of five thousand acres of land, and the promise of an additional grant of the same quantity, in the event of his succeeding in the proposed object.

"Mr. Macarthur soon after returned to New South Wales, and carried with him several sheep of the finest quality, purchased from His Majesty's flocks; but his personal exertions were for some time suspended by the unhappy dissensions that prevailed under the Government of the late Admiral Bligh; and it was not until after a lapse of several years that he was enabled to resume, under his own inspection, the plans he had laid down for the improvement of the breed of sheep. They had, in the interval, however, become an object of interest to the settlers throughout the colony, and this interest was encouraged as much as possible by sales of fine rams and ewes from Mr. Macarthur's

colonial proprietors, as well as on speculation; and sheep of that breed are now very widely diffused over the territory, the colonial flocks of inferior breed having from time to time been gradually improved by crossing with the Saxon. The wool undergoes the usual process of washing on the animal's back in a running stream, or pool, before it is shorn: it is then dried, shorn, and sorted; after which it is packed into bales, and forwarded on large drays, drawn by oxen, to Sydney, to be there shipped for London. The freight to London usually costs from a penny to three-halfpence per lb., although it is at times as low as a halfpenny to three-farthings: the price in England varying from 1s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. per lb.

Sheep in New South Wales generally double their number every four years—in many instances in less than half that period; and as there is still an unlimited extent of pasture in Australia, if not to the southward and westward, at least to the northward and westward, the quantity of wool that will be exported from that country in a few years hence will be great beyond belief in England. The number of sheep in New South Wales, on the 31st March, 1873, ✓ was 17,560,048.

Within the limits of New South Wales proper, there are now no new stations to be found, either for sheep or cattle; and the only way in which a station can be obtained within these limits is by purchasing the entire stock and station of some actual proprietor. Sales of this kind are not unfrequent; and when they do occur, a considerably higher price is put upon the sheep or cattle, per head, than they would sell for without the station, the latter being, in colonial language, *given in*. It is also to be remarked that, although many sheep and cattle stations, within the colonial limits, will still bear a considerable addition to their present amount of stock—every squatter being naturally anxious to secure for himself the largest possible extent of pastoral

country to provide for future increase—there are many other stations that are actually overstocked, and have already reached their maximum of production. There is no doubt that, under an improved system of management, both for the stock and pastures, the maximum of production obtainable under the present wasteful system might be considerably increased. Still, however, this increase will only be limited; and although absolutely progressing annually, the whole amount of the pastoral produce of all kinds in both colonies will soon begin to diminish year after year, as compared with the rapidly increasing population. In short, every Australian colony is necessarily in the first stage of its existence a *pastoral* colony; but as soon as its natural capabilities of this kind are exhausted, so as to admit of no further increase, it necessarily passes into the second and more advanced stage of its existence, and becomes an *agricultural* colony; and it is gratifying to reflect that, although the field in the former capacity is limited, and easily exhausted, it is absolutely unlimited and inexhaustible in the latter.

I have already observed that, in the course of his last expedition of discovery into the interior of Australia, the late Sir Thomas Mitchell discovered a splendid tract of pastoral country to the northward, between the 26th parallel of latitude and the Tropic of Capricorn, of which the general elevation above the level of the sea was about 2000 feet; and that he had subsequently discovered and traced down to its northernmost limit a river which he named the Victoria, and which he found traversing for ninety miles the finest country he had ever seen in Australia. The Victoria rises in 25° south and 147° east, and runs in a northerly direction to $24^{\circ} 30'$ south and 145° east. At this point Captain Sturt observes that Sir Thomas was about 460 miles from the nearest part of the Gulf of Carpentaria.*

* "Sir Thomas Mitchell's position at his extreme west was more

Now, as that point is about the same distance from the east coast, I am strongly of opinion that the future port on the Albert river at the head of that Gulf will, eventually, be the port of shipment for these important discoveries of Sir Thomas Mitchell, as well as for the whole extent of pastoral country discovered by Dr. Leichhardt, within five hundred miles of that central point. From any port on the east coast near the Tropic of Capricorn, a vessel laden with colonial produce for England would have to make the hard choice between the dangerous navigation by way of Torres Straits, which is practicable only for six months in the year, and the long and dreary voyage by Cape Horn. But a port at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, communicating with the extensive pastoral country in all directions, would enable vessels trading to that port to load for England at the proper season, and to make the homeward voyage by the Indian Ocean and the Cape of Good Hope,—a much shorter route,—with a fair wind and the finest summer weather almost the whole way. It will be a matter of such paramount importance for the colonists in all directions to the northward to get rid of the navigation both by Torres Straits and Cape Horn, that every effort will doubtless be made at the earliest possible period to render extensively available the peculiar advantages which the Gulf of Carpentaria presents for communication with Europe.⁴

than 460 miles from the nearest part of the Gulf of Carpentaria; he was in a low country, and on the banks of a river which had ceased to flow."—*Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia*, by Captain Charles Sturt, F.L.S. &c., vol. ii. p. 231. London: 1849.

⁴ It is a remarkable provision of nature, for the future progress and advancement of Australia, that the six winter months, so to speak, of the southern hemisphere, viz. from the 1st of April to the 1st of October,—during which strong westerly winds are prevalent along the south coast, and the passage to the westward consequently much more difficult than at other seasons,—are the period during which the south-easterly monsoon prevails on the north coast. On

It is now very well ascertained that the Australian climate is perfectly adapted to the constitution of the sheep as far north as the Gulf of Carpentaria. The fleece has exhibited no tendency to degenerate into hair in Australia as it does in the East and West Indies. On the contrary, although it is somewhat lighter, it improves in quality ; the higher price which it brings in the home market compensating for the greater lightness of the fleece. The average weight of the fleece in the southern regions of the colony is 3 lbs. ; in latitude 25° , that is, twelve degrees farther north, it is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.

On one of my voyages to the northward from Sydney, I had the pleasure of meeting, on board the steamboat, with a highly intelligent squatter in that part of the country, who, although himself a native of Newfoundland, had been long in the colony, and had worked himself up, like the patriarch Jacob, from a comparatively humble commencement into the possession of one of the most extensive pastoral establishments in the country. At my request, he gave me the following items of expenditure and sources of profit for a large sheep establishment in the northern division of the colony, where his own station was situated at an elevation of 1500 feet above the level of the sea. Mr. —— was of opinion that an establishment, in order to pay, should consist of 15,000 sheep, and be continued on that scale ; as a considerably smaller number would not pay, while a larger number could not be properly managed. He recommended also that a newly-arrived emigrant, with capital, intending to embark in the business of squatting, should, in the first instance, purchase 2000 or 2500 sheep, and give them out to some person to keep for him for two

the contrary, during the six summer months, when a passage to the westward along the south coast is comparatively easy, the north-westerly monsoon prevails on the north coast.

years, till he should acquire the requisite colonial experience to undertake the management of an establishment for himself. The terms in such cases—very different, of course, from the rates in Europe—are either the whole of the wool, or half the produce generally, both lambs and wool, for keeping the sheep.

The following, therefore, is the estimate of expenditure for an establishment of 15,000 sheep in the northern district of New South Wales :—

Average number in a flock, exclusive of lambs, 1700 ; or 1200 ewes with their lambs ; or 2000 to 2500 dry sheep, viz. wethers, or young sheep.

This will divide the whole number into nine flocks, each of which will be under a separate shepherd.

These flocks will be located at four subordinate stations ; viz. two flocks with their shepherds, and one watchman, or hut-keeper, at each station ; and one flock at the head station.

The wages of shepherds and hut-keepers, or watchmen, vary from 20*l.* to 30*l.* each, with their rations ; the latter consisting of 8 lbs. of flour, 12 lbs. of meat, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of tea and 2 lbs. of sugar for each person weekly.

At the Head Station a man and his wife will be required for house service, at 35*l.* per annum and rations.

Also one bullock-driver at 30*l.* and rations.

Item, an overseer and a storekeeper at 35*l.* each and rations.

With a spare man to work in the garden, or otherwise, as may be necessary, at shepherd's wages.

Supposing 6000 ewes to lamb, twelve extra men will be required during the season (for five weeks) at 3*l.* each and rations.

The shearing and washing of 15,000 sheep will cost 10*l.* per thousand.

There will also require to be provided for these sheep

600 hurdles at 6*l.* 10*s.* per hundred, which will last three years.

Carriage to the station—say 150 miles—will cost 6*s.* per cwt.

Do. of wool to the port, 3*s.* per cwt.

A team of ten bullocks and a dray will cost 60*l.*

Five horses at 12*l.* each.

Four Squatting licences at 10*l.* each—40*l.* at least.

Assessment on 15,000 sheep at $\frac{1}{4}d.$ per head.

Six huts for the shepherds and other working people, at 6*l.* 10*s.* each.

Extras—Sheep-shears, wool-packing, &c.—50*l.*

Add, for decrease from casualties, 5 per cent.

Add also for one's own expenses, with a servant, together with cost of buildings, improvements, wool-sheds, and paddocks.

RETURNS.

15,000 sheep give $2\frac{1}{8}$ lbs. wool yearly, at 1*s.* 2*d.* per lb. in Sydney for each sheep; from which, however, must be deducted the freight to Sydney, which is 10*s.* for each bale of 300 lbs. or 140 to 150 fleeces.

6000 ewes at 85 per cent. increase.

3000 sheep to boil down for their tallow; yielding 18 lbs. tallow each, to which add the value of the skins.

These items, which, I have no doubt, were those of the squatter's own establishment, will show that it would be somewhat hazardous for a newly arrived emigrant to enter largely into so extensive a concern, without previous colonial experience.

I received, however, from an intelligent and experienced fellow-passenger by another vessel, some time since, an estimate of a humbler character, which I subjoin, and which, although the prices both of stock and labour may be somewhat different now, I have no doubt exhibits a very

fair account of the state and progress of a well-managed sheep-farm in New South Wales.⁵

⁵ Estimate of the probable results of a Sheep Establishment, commencing on a small scale, in New South Wales :—

Suppose two practical men agree to start sheep-farming, and to bear alike the expenses, profit, and loss. The time to reckon the commencement of accounts is when the sheep are on their own run, say in March.

N.B. The best plan is to buy sheep which are not only healthy, but which have never been diseased: perhaps they can also be got in lamb, which will of course be advantageous to the beginner. Fine wool is the object, and plenty of it. Young sheep should be got if possible, but not maiden ewes; as their first lambing is neither so prolific, nor are the lambs so fine and strong as if out of ewes which have lambed before. The greatest trouble will be to find a good run, in as settled a district as possible; being careful to avoid being near or joining a run with scabby or otherwise diseased sheep on it.

	£ s. d.
500 ewes at 6s. per head; 8 rams at 15s. each.	156 0 0
Putting up hut and yard; 1 man six weeks to help	5 0 0
Rations for 2 men 12 months }	7 0 0
20 lbs. flour per week, or $\frac{1}{4}$ ton at 14 <i>l.</i> }	7 0 0
1 lb. tea per week, or 52 lbs. at 9 <i>d.</i>	1 19 0
4 lbs. sugar per week, or 208 lbs. at 3 <i>d.</i>	2 12 0
24 lbs. meat per week, or 2 beasts at 30 <i>s.</i>	3 0 0
Clothing in addition to what they have in wear	5 0 0
Shearing 508 sheep at 12 <i>s.</i> , and 5 woolbales at 5 <i>s.</i>	4 5 0
Carriage $\frac{1}{4}$ ton wool, at 7 <i>l.</i> per ton	5 5 0
Contingent expenses	3 0 0
Lease of run 12 months	10 0 0
<hr/>	
	£203 1 0

By putting the rams into their flock in March, the first lambing will take place on September 1st, and as, going on a new station, they are supposed to have plenty of grass and water, while, from its being their first year, extra attention will be given and extra exertion made, a good lambing may be expected. We shall therefore reckon 92 per cent., which is not a remarkable lambing, as I have known a squatter who commenced in this way, and was particularly fortu-

The second of the animal products of New South Wales
 • nate, to have 130 per cent. Half, we shall say, are ewes, and half
 wethers.

	£ s. d.
246 wether lambs at 4s. 6d., and 246 ewe lambs at 5s. 6d.	123 0 0
508 fleeces at 3s. 9d., average 3 lbs. each, at 1s. 3d. per lb.	95 0 0
	<hr/>
Capital laid out and expenses of 1st year.	218 0 0
Capital recovered and exceeded by	<hr/> £14 19 0

N.B. There is 6 months' wool on the lambs at the end of the first year, viz. 492 half-fleeces at 1s. 3d. each, or 30l. 15s.—no small item to leave out; but they will have 18 months' growth of wool next shearing time. The lambs are taken out in February, and the ewes have one month's spell allowed them, when the rams are again put into the flock.

By a proper and frugal method of sheep-farming of this kind, how many sheep would these two individuals be in possession of at the expiration of ten years? As 100 and 105 per cent. in lambing are of common occurrence, we shall allow them 80 per cent., as the increase will often exceed 90 per cent., although in bad seasons perhaps not more than 60 or 65 per cent., one half wether lambs, the other half ewe lambs. Reckoning, then, by a strict calculation at 80 per cent., the result is as follows, viz.:—

	Ewes.	Wethers.	Increase.	Total.
1st year	730	238	460	968
2nd "	1025	523	590	1558
3rd "	1435	943	820	2378
4th "	2016	1524	1162	3540
5th "	2823	2381	1614	5154
6th "	3954	3462	2263	7416
7th "	5541	5049	3174	10590
8th "	7761	7269	4441	15030
9th "	10866	10374	6210	21250
10th "	15219	25598	8706	40812
Allow one year with another 300 deaths			3000}	
Allow also old ewes and accidents			7812}	10,812
Total number of sheep after liberal calculations				30,000

is tallow. I have already given an account of the origin of

Of course these two individuals would not have the number of wethers as stated above, at the end of ten years; for they would sell them as their age and condition suited; therefore they have them figuratively and virtually in their pocket, which makes no difference in the calculations as they are not breeding sheep. The wool off this number of sheep, reckoning 3s. per fleece, which is a fair average, will amount to 4500*l.* After shearing, let the proprietors fatten them up, or sell them, or boil them down; in any of these ways they can secure 6s. per head, which realizes a sum of 9000*l.* Therefore, at the end of ten years they have property which will fetch 13,500*l.*, besides the profit of the wool for the ten years, which will afterwards be shown to be 938*l.* clear profit the fifth year. An objection may be started to my estimate from the price of the lambs, which in my calculations of the fifth year, I have reckoned only at 4s. per head. They are worth that to the proprietors; the ewes to breed from, the wethers to fatten for market, or for their wool. I have seen twelve-months' lambs sell at 5s. 6d., which is no uncommon price.

PROSPECTUS OF THE FIFTH YEAR.

Having 2823 ewes, 2331 wethers. Total 5154 sheep.

	£ s. d.
5154 fleeces at 3s. 6d. per fleece; 3 <i>lb.</i> wool, at 14 <i>d.</i> each	896 5 6
2262 lambs at 4s. each	452 8 0
	<hr/>
	1288 13 6
Shearing 5154 sheep, at 12 <i>s.</i> per hundred	30 18 0
54 wool-bales, at 5 <i>s.</i> each	13 10 0
Carriage 7 <i>½</i> tons wool, or 4 loaded drays, at 7 <i>l.</i> per ton	52 10 0
Washing 5154 sheep—4 men one week	4 0 0
Four shepherds, at 20 <i>l.</i> per annum	80 0 0
Two hut-keepers, at 18 <i>l.</i>	36 0 0
Six men's rations 12 months, as before stated.	43 0 0
Proprietors' rations (not as the 1st year, 14 <i>l.</i> , but)	40 0 0
Further expenses	50 0 0
Lease of run	10 0 0
	<hr/>
	349 18 0

Allowing a charge for carriage, good wages, and 50*l.*
for unforeseen expenses, leaves as profit on the 5th } £938 15 6
year }

this important colonial export, which originated, in the year 1843, with the late Henry O'Brien, Esq., J.P., of Yass. The export of tallow from New South Wales, for the year 1872, was 30,805 cwt., which was valued at 48,588*l.* The number of boiling-down establishments for the production of this article of colonial export throughout the colony was at one time 110; and the number of sheep and cattle slaughtered, and of cwts. of tallow produced, was as follows, viz.

Number of Sheep slaughtered and boiled-down	798,787
Number of Horned Cattle	73,105
Number of cwts. of Tallow produced	233,757
The value of which was not less than 800,721 <i>l.</i>	

It will surely not be a matter of regret to the intelligent reader that this particular article of colonial produce should almost have disappeared from our list of exports, as it has unquestionably done, in comparing our present with our past exports in the article of tallow. For I have no hesitation in expressing it as my decided opinion that the wholesale and enormous destruction of valuable animal food that was thus going on for a series of years, both in New South Wales and Victoria, in the production of tallow, viewed in connexion with the fact of there having been myriads at home on the very

The above is an idea of what can be done by two persons, of steady, sober, frugal, and industrious habits, who look well after their own business, instead of leaving their affairs in charge of overseers, who too often raise themselves by fraudulent means to become sheep-owners, whilst their employers sink gradually, and ultimately find themselves perhaps worse off than when they commenced.

Another advantage in sheep-farming is the little trouble and expense attending the breeding of cattle or horses, which increase without cost, provided they are not so numerous as to require a stock-rider. Another advantage consists in this, that the proprietor can grow his own corn and vegetables, therefore saving expenses of carriage.

brink of starvation during that whole period, was in the highest degree discreditable to Great Britain and her rulers, and could not but be peculiarly offensive in the eye of Heaven. Had the mother country only fulfilled her proper mission as a great colonizing country—had she only stood upon her own undoubted rights over the waste lands of Australia—there would have been population enough by this time in the Australian colonies to have consumed the whole of this valuable food, and prevented so prodigious, so lamentable a waste.

The next important item of the animal products of New South Wales is that of salted and preserved meat; the export of which for the year 1842 amounted to 148,386*l.* This is doubtless a much more legitimate article of export than that of tallow, considering the manner in which the latter commodity was procured. But the rise in the price of butchers' meat in the colonies, and the prevalence of pleuro-pneumonia among the cattle have greatly diminished this branch of trade for the time being. The export for 1872, however, amounted to 141,386*l.*

Of hides and leather there was exported from New South Wales during the year 1872 to the amount of 134,016*l.*

Of live stock—horses, horned cattle, sheep and pigs, there were exported to the value of 48,700*l.*

There were many other items, doubtless, in the export list of the colony for the year 1872, but the only other I shall mention is that of honey, of which there were exported in that year 15,299 pounds.

Before proceeding to another department of the natural productions of the colony, I shall make a few cursory remarks on the management of stock in New South Wales.

Cattle and horses require very little attendance, a very few persons being sufficient to manage a herd of cattle of from 500 to 2000 or 3000 head. When a large herd of this kind is stationed in the interior, under the charge of

an overseer and a few hired servants, supplies of flour, &c., are forwarded, at regular intervals, to the party, from the proprietor's home-station, on drays drawn by oxen, or on the backs of these animals, if the intervening country is of a rugged and mountainous character ;—and the proprietor himself visits the station occasionally on horseback. But the huts and stockyards are no sooner erected, than the overseer, if an industrious and trustworthy person, fences in a piece of ground, and raises as much wheat as is requisite for the supply of his party, thereby rendering further supplies of flour from the home-station unnecessary. Out-stations of this kind are each supplied with a portable steel mill.

A sheep-station is managed in pretty much the same manner as a cattle-station. If the country consists of open plains destitute of timber, as many as 1000 or even 2000 sheep are sometimes entrusted to a single shepherd; if it is moderately wooded, as is much more frequently the case, there is a shepherd for every flock of 650. The sheep are folded every night in a pen or fold constructed of moveable hurdles; and the shepherd, attended by his dogs, sleeps in a small moveable covered berth constructed on a frame somewhat like a hand-barrow, outside the fold, the sheep being sometimes attacked during the night by the native dog of the colony. The lambing season is in some instances at the commencement of winter, in others in the beginning of summer. The sheep-shearing uniformly takes place at the latter season; each fleece of animals of improved breed, averaging from two to two and a half pounds. The wool is packed in bales, wrapped in canvas, and forwarded, for exportation, to Sydney on large drays generally drawn by oxen. Some of the more extensive sheep farmers send home their wool direct to their agents in London, where it is sold, according to its quality, at from 1s. to 2s. (the freight to London being generally

1d. or $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., but at times only $\frac{1}{2}$ d. or $\frac{3}{4}$ d.) a pound. It is generally, however, either brought or received for consignment by merchants in Sydney, some of whom employ wool-sorters of their own to assort and repack it for the London market.

The sheep is subject to a variety of diseases, some of which are not unknown to the Australian flock-masters. In some seasons, and especially in swampy situations, the disease called *the rot* occasions extensive mortality; but the cutaneous disease called *the scab* is of much more frequent occurrence. As this disease generally arises from carelessness, it has been the subject of a colonial enactment called *the Scab Bill*, the provisions of which gave occasion, at the time of its enactment, to much discussion among the sheep-farmers of the colony. The scab is a highly contagious disease; and sheep in a clean and healthy state may be infected with it to a great extent—as has often occurred in the colony, sometimes through accident, and sometimes through design—by merely being brought into contact with a diseased flock for a few hours. Catarrh in sheep and blackleg in cattle have also been prevalent in particular districts in certain seasons, and have occasionally proved very fatal to the flocks and herds of individual proprietors.

II. Of the vegetable productions of New South Wales the first is timber, of which the most valuable description as yet discovered in the colony is the red cedar, which is uniformly found growing on the alluvial lands on the banks of rivers flowing into the Pacific. This article of colonial produce sustains a considerable coasting trade, and affords remunerating employment to a somewhat lawless population; the cedar-cutters in New South Wales bearing a sort of family likeness to the lumberers of British America. The colonial cedar is as soft and light as the American pine; but it takes a fine polish, and many of the finer specimens are quite equal to Spanish mahogany, which it greatly resembles.

Churches and other places of public concourse, which are generally fitted up with this wood, have a much finer appearance in the interior than buildings of the same kind at home; and it is some time before the colonial eye, which has been accustomed to "a house of cedar" for the ark of God, can reconcile itself to the essential vulgarity of the American pine. Considerable quantities of this valuable timber used to be exported to England; but it is now chiefly consumed in New South Wales and the neighbouring colonies. There has of late, however, been a considerable and steadily increasing export of the hard woods of the colony,—principally iron bark, blue gum, spotted gum, &c. It is used for the same purposes in shipbuilding as African oak, the supply being inexhaustible. The specific gravity of the colonial iron bark timber is very great as compared with American pine. The latter floats with one fourth to one third of its bulk above water, according to the description of the timber, while the American hard wood is of the same specific gravity as water, floating level with the surface; but the Australian iron bark wood sinks like lead in water, a cubic foot of it weighing $73\frac{3}{4}$ lbs., while a cubic foot of water weighs only 1000 oz., or $62\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.

Treenails, for fastening the timbers of ships, are also exported in considerable and increasing quantities; being used as dunnage, for filling up empty spaces, on ship-board.

Of Mimosa bark for tanning, both in the crude state and in that of extract, the export amounted in former years to 3000 tons; but the quantity exported has recently been inconsiderable, in consequence of the greatly increased demand in the colonies.

The value of the timber exported in the year 1872 was 38,038*l.*

III. Of the mineral productions of New South Wales, the first in importance—not intrinsically perhaps, but acci-

dentially—is Gold ; but I shall reserve for a separate chapter any remarks I have to make on that interesting and important subject.

Silver has not as yet been found in any quantity in New South Wales, although it forms an alloy of the native gold, and singularly enough, the farther north the gold is found, the quantity of the alloy of silver is the greater. There are indications of its presence, however, in various localities, and it is expected to be discovered in quantity sufficient at least to repay the cost of extraction, if not to insure fortunes to the adventurous miners. Count Strzelecki's notice of its indications, contained in a paper submitted to Sir George Gipps, and afterwards republished in one of the Parliamentary Blue Books, is as follows ; viz.

" Silver—native, in very minute and rare spangles, disseminated in primitive greenstone, indicating only its existence in rocks of that class, deserving further researches and tracings. Locality, Honeysuckle Range, from Piper's Flat."

There are three localities in the colony, in which the indications of the presence of silver in the native rock are peculiarly favourable—at Wolgarlo, near Yass, in the southern country ; in the Upper Hunter, near Scone, and at Moruya, on the coast. A company, formed to work the first of these mines, having erected their machinery on too low a level, had it all carried away, when just completed, by a flood. The mine on the Upper Hunter is worked by a company, I presume, of Germans, bearing the singular name of *Hülfe Gottes*, or God's Help ; and the one on the Moruya was in actual operation for some time, but was afterwards abandoned from mismanagement. There is no doubt, however, that they will all be worked, and it is to be hoped, successfully, by-and-by.

There is no uncertainty, however, as to the existence of Copper in many localities in New South Wales. From the

Registrar-General's Report we learn that there were not fewer than sixteen copper-mines in operation during the year 1872, and that the produce had been 1885 tons, valued at 54,643*l.*

There is one of the most beautiful instances I have ever witnessed of the benefits arising from intercolonial commerce in the operations of the Waratah and Moonta Copper-smelting Company, whose works, about four miles from Newcastle, I happened to visit in the year 1872. At each of the large copper-mines of South Australia, and particularly at the Moonta mine, there is a vast accumulation of copper ore of inferior quality, in which the percentage of copper is too small to pay for the importation of coals from Newcastle in New South Wales to smelt it at the mine in Adelaide. There is also, at all the coal-mines of New South Wales, and particularly at the Waratah Company's mine near Newcastle, quite a hill of small coal that cannot be easily disposed of to the Company's ordinary customers. What then? Why, a trade is opened up forthwith between the two companies, to bring the inferior copper ore from South Australia to New South Wales, to be smelted with the small coal from the Waratah Company's mine. In this way the Waratah Company disposes of upwards of 30,000 tons annually of its small coal to the Moonta Company; which again smelts annually 25,000 tons of poor Moonta copper ore from South Australia, which averages only six per cent. of copper, and yet pays well, the result being a highly profitable speculation to those concerned.

There are many indications of iron throughout the colony, but the only iron-mine that has been worked as yet is the Fitzroy mine at Nattai, on the great southern road. The ore is found on the surface, containing from 65 to 70 per cent. of pure metal, and possessing, as is alleged, the singular quality, perhaps arising from the use of charcoal as fuel, of running, when smelted, into steel. It is expected

that this metal will prove of first-rate quality for all descriptions of cutlery.

In the year 1870 a discovery of extensive deposits of Tin was made in the New England or North-western interior of the colony, and a numerous body of men, some of them with their wives and children, have since settled as tin-miners in that part of the country. As yet it is only what is called stream tin, a substance resembling gunpowder, that the miners are in search of in the beds and banks of the different creeks or streams that traverse the country; no attempt having yet been made to mine for the solid metal, or to employ machinery in the process as in quartz-mining for gold. The stuff that is dug up from the beds or banks of these creeks is simply subjected to the process of washing, if possible, in a running stream; the earthy matter being shovelled into a box, or Long Tom, as it is called, and agitated in the current. In this process the earthy or lighter matters are washed away, and the tin, which is of great specific gravity, remains in the box. Seven hundred and eighteen tons of stream tin were collected in this way, and exported during the year 1872, of which the value was 48,832*l.* But the produce for 1873 must have been much greater, for tin-mining was till then merely in its infancy.

Another of the mineral products of New South Wales is the Diamond, which has recently been found in large numbers, but of very small size, in two different localities in the western interior—Mudgee and Bingera, 150 miles apart. A. Liversidge, Esq., of the University of Sydney, read a Paper before the Royal Society of Sydney, giving an account of his visit to the Bingera Field on the 1st October, 1873, of which the following are extracts:—

"The Mudgee diamond workings are distant some 170 miles south of Bingera, on the Cudgegong River, which runs into the Macquarie River, and that again into the Darling River.

"Diamonds were first discovered here in 1867 by the gold diggers,

who neglected them for some time, but in 1869 they were worked pretty extensively. The localities lie along the river in the form of outliers of an old river drift, at varying distances from the river, and at heights of 40 feet or so above it. These outliers are capped by deposits of basalt, hard and compact, and in some cases columnar. This basalt is regarded by Mr. Taylor as of Post-Pleiocene age, but this has not been determined directly by any fossil evidence."

"The largest diamond found was 5½ carats = roughly 16·2 grains. The average sp. gr. was 3·44; and the average weight 0·23 carat, or nearly one carat grain each. The carat contains 4 carat grains, which are equal to 3·16 grains troy."

"The diamond-bearing deposits at present undergoing development are some seven or eight miles, more or less, to the south of Bingera, and are situated in a kind of basin or closed valley amidst the hills; this basin is about four miles long by three wide, and is open to the north."

"Up to the present all the diamonds have been found within a foot or so of the surface, in fact just at the grass roots. In no case have the workings been carried to greater depths than two or three feet; in some parts examined the drift itself is not thicker than that."

"The following is an account of the number obtained by Messrs. Westcott and M'Caw [the discoverers of the Bingera Field], from the Eaglehawk claim, up to August 26th, 1873:—

400 diamonds, weighing	192 grains
420	"	"	.	.	199 "
310	"	"	.	.	153 "
200	"	"	.	.	109 "
350	"	"	.	.	150 "
<hr/>					<hr/>
1,680	"	"	.	.	803 " troy.

"And, as examples of the number obtained per load of stuff, the following may be cited:—

5 loads yielded 86 diamonds, weighing 32 grains.

8 loads yielded 68 diamonds, weighing 30 grains.

"Up to the present no large diamonds have been found, the largest hitherto met with being one only of 8 grains,

- 1 of 4 grains
- 6 of 3 "
- 85 of 2 "
- 1587 of less than 2 grains.

"It is reported from Bingera, in the *Tamworth News* of September 26, that Mr. Gardiner has obtained 115 diamonds, and that the Gwydir

Company are progressing vigorously. The Giant's Knob is rich in gems, the yield averaging about 140 to the machine full, when the dirt is taken from the diamond drift.

"A correspondent of the *Tamworth Examiner*, on the 12th instant, states that there have lately been large finds of diamonds in the district of Bingera. The Gwydir Diamond Company have prospected now twenty-one pieces of land, nineteen of which have proved to be more or less diamond-producing soil, containing Grupiara or alluvial deposit, whose surface shows it to be the unused bed of a stream or river; Burgalhas, small angular fragments of rocks, bestrewing the surface of the ground; Cascalho, fragments of rocks and sand mixed up with clay and forming the bed of a river; and Takoa Carza, which are the above materials cemented together into a conglomerate mass. All the above, however, are known by the generic name of Cascalho. The masses of stones themselves, which rarely exceed a cubic foot in size, contain itacolumite jasper, and perdots and granite. These are the known indications of the whereabouts of diamonds, as trusted to and found to be correct both in the East Indies and the Brazils. The nineteen successful prospects of the Gwydir Company have produced each on an average thirty-five diamonds to every six loads (of one ton) of wash-dirt, and they have now by them some 1100 glistering pebbles, ready to transmit to Amsterdam, Paris, or some other European continental market; and are at present making extensive arrangements for the formation of three more dams and puddling apparatus on other parts of their land where good supplies of water are to be found. He also gives the following as the find of Messrs. McCaw and Westcott:—Up to the week ending July 12, 100 diamonds; up to the week ending July 19, 113 diamonds; up to the week ending July 26, 119 diamonds—total, 322.—*Herald*, August 21, 1873."

Cinnabar, or the ore of mercury, has been found, but not to a sufficient extent to warrant the formation of a company to search for it systematically. The locality in which it has been found is on the Cudgegong River, near the town of Mudgee in the western interior.

There have been no kerosene oil-wells discovered in New South Wales, but abundance of kerosene shale, from which the oil is easily extracted, has been discovered both at American Creek, in the district of Illawarra on the coast, and at Hartley, about a hundred miles distant in the

western interior. In both cases there have been companies formed for the extraction of the oil, which now competes in the Sydney market with the produce of the oil-wells from the United States.

I have already observed that limestone is found in all directions in the colony—northward, westward, and southward—beyond the great sandstone formation of which Sydney is the centre. In that part of the colony the lime in common use is procured from sea shells, which are found in vast accumulations in various localities within the great inlet of Port Jackson. In certain parts of the colony, chiefly to the southward, the limestone passes into marble, which, according to Count Strzelecki, is in some places as white as the finest statuary or Carrara marble, and in others as black as jet.⁶

It is scarcely necessary to add that, in the great sandstone formation, out of which the splendid harbour of Port Jackson has been scooped by the hand of the Creator, there is an inexhaustible supply of the finest stone for building.

The only other mineral product that I shall mention, among the natural productions of the colony, is Coal ; of which there is happily an inexhaustible supply, not only for the colony itself, but for half the world beside, in New South Wales. Newcastle, a seaport town sixty miles to the northward of Sydney, is the head-quarters of the coal region, as well as of the coal-mining industry of the colony. There is a vast extent of coal-field in all the three possible directions around Newcastle, and along the valley of the

⁶ Some parts of New South Wales can boast of most beautiful marbles, very valuable for statuary and other ornamental purposes ; as on the Wollondilly, where the rock is as closely grained and as white as the Carrara marble ; and at Amprier, Shoalhaven, where the stone is a jet black, traversed by veins of a white calcareous spar : between Wellington and Boree there are also innumerable varieties of finely variegated marbles, in which caves are found of the greatest interest to geology.—*Strzelecki, ubi supra*, 115.

Hunter, of which Newcastle is the *embouchure*, for upwards of a hundred miles. And there are now not fewer than sixteen different coal-mines in actual working, the property either of companies or of private individuals, in the Newcastle district.'

Again, about the same distance to the southward of Sydney, as Newcastle is to the northward, there is another coal-field of indefinite extent in the coast-range of mountains running parallel to the line of the Pacific, and presenting, even to the naked eye from the sea, the black streak that indicates the presence of the coal-strata in the face of the mountains. There are no shafts necessary in this part of the great colonial coal-field ; the different mines being worked by simple adits in the face of the mountain. The ports for the shipment of coal on this part of the coastline—those of Bulli, Bellambi, and Wollongong—being of an inferior and dangerous character, an idea has recently been started, in connexion with the project of a railway being constructed along the coast to the southward, of conveying the coal by that railway from all the southern mines to the deep water in the harbour of Port Jackson, about a

7 Section of the Newcastle coal-field at the cliffs :—

A. Coal	3 feet
B. Greenish sandstone	50 „
C. Coal	3 „
D. Greenish sandstone with blue veins	25 „
E. Coal	5 „
F. Clayrock (greyish) and slate (bluish)	43 „
G. Coal	5 „
H. Cherts, gritstones, flints, and thin veins of coal	44 „
I. Coal	3 „
K. Conglomerate	23 „
	204 „

—Strzelecki's Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, p. 125.

mile or two to the westward of the city of Sydney, where ships of the greatest burden could be laden with promptitude and facility, without interfering in any way with the present trade of the capital. The gentleman who first suggested this idea, and who showed, in a very able paper which he read before the Royal Society of Sydney, so recently as on the 6th of August, 1873, that from five to ten thousand tons of coal could be brought to Sydney by this route daily, was the late James Manning, Esq., whose recent and sudden death has been a public calamity to the colony. There is no doubt that this idea, the carrying out of which would make Sydney the greatest coal-port in the world, will eventually, and very shortly too, be realized.

"By this route," says Mr. Manning, "from the first available coal taken *at the dip*, some two or three miles inland from the sea, and with probably not more than 600 feet of sinking, the coal can be brought direct by easy gradients to three and five fathoms of water, by a total distance not exceeding forty miles.

"Such being the case, the haulage at even a halfpenny per ton per mile, as the proved working cost of colliery railways, including wear and tear of rails, would make only 1s. 6d. per ton. Thus, under these circumstances, it might not be unreasonable to expect that from five to ten thousand tons a day could arrive daily from that quarter alone, for the supply of some of the foreign ships that would come with confidence to our great coal country, when we can give quickest possible dispatch from either Newcastle or Sydney."⁸

The carboniferous strata of this field extend southerly to about a hundred miles from Cape Howe. Unfortunately for that colony there are no available coal-fields in Victoria, which derives nearly all its supplies of coal from New South Wales.

There are other two sources of supply for this material

⁸ "Our Coal

— James Manning, Esq.

of indispensable necessity in New South Wales, the one at Sutton Forest on the great Southern line of Railway, about eighty miles—and at Bowenfells on the Western line, a hundred miles from Sydney. In both of these localities there are coal-mines in actual operation.

The colliers employed at the Newcastle mines are principally from the North of England, from Scotland, and Wales. They are a quiet, orderly, church-going people; the object of my last visit to the district being to open a church for the Presbyterian portion of their number—a highly creditable building it was for the place. I was somewhat amused at a circumstance I learnt during my visit. Not a few of the colliers have comfortable cottages of their own erected on allotments they have bought for the purpose, *and some of them even have riding-horses*, which they are permitted to graze on the Company's land, a coal-field of about 7000 acres, with a stratum of coal in it eight feet thick—at a shilling a week. A collier from the West of Scotland who had consulted me on one of my visits to the mother country, I think in 1852, on the propriety of his emigrating to New South Wales, which I advised him to do by all means, called on me some time after his arrival in the colony, to let me know that he had taken my advice, and that he was not sorry for having done so. In conversation with him he told me of the very great difference of the price of labour in coal-mining in New South Wales as compared with the much smaller rates in the West of Scotland. And finding that at the rates he mentioned a collier could easily earn more than the usual salaries of ministers of religion of any communion in the colony, I told him to his great comfort and amusement that it was better to wear a black face than a black coat—to be a collier than a clergyman—in New South Wales.

The following is the Registrar-General's Report of the Quantity of Coal exported during the year 1872 :—

TABULAR List of Collieries and Kerosene Coal and Shale Mines in New South Wales, with the number of Persons employed, and quantity of Mineral raised in 1869.

No.	Mines.	Names of Proprietors.	Tons of Coal raised.	Tons of Oil-coal and Shale raised.	No. of Persons employed.	Remarks.
1	Borehole.....	Australian Agricultural Company Trustees of Dr. Mitchell	168,108	...	376	
2	Burwood.....	Messrs. J. & A. Brown	2,930	...	12	Worked only about 3 months.
3	Milnun.....	Messrs. J. & A. Brown	13,823	1	327	
4	New Lambton.....	Messrs. J. & A. Brown	109,860	...	327	
5	Wallsend.....	Wallsend Coal Company	164,000	...	320	
6	Lambton.....	Scottish & Australian Mining Co.	168,968	...	257	
7	Waratah.....	Waratah Coal Company	127,184	...	285	
8	Co-operative Colliery.....	Messrs. Laidey, Ireland, & Co.	44,000	...	190	
9	Dark Creek Colliery.....	Mr. William Steel	300	...	1	Only supplying saw-mill.
10	Sunderland Colliery.....	Mr. A. Tulip	500	...	3	For local consumption.
11	Nott's Inganee Seam.....	Mr. Nott	8,266	...	18	Supplied to steamer at Morpeth.
12	Mitchell's Inganee Seam.....	Mr. John Mitchell	9,428	...	18	For Maitland Gasworks.
13	Bathinda Pit.....	Mr. Trunks	500	...	2	For local consumption, Maitland and environs.
14	Sunny Creek.....	Mr. Frank Russell	900	...	4	Good household and steam coal, splinty cannel.
15	Anvil Creek.....	Mr. Wm. Farthing	14,400	...	30	For supply of Singleton.
16	Rix's Creek.....	Mr. Jas. Elliott	1,900	...	6	
17	Billi, Wollongong.....	Billi Coal Company	61,000	...	90	
18	Osborne Wallsend.....	Messrs. Robison & Company	16,977	...	25	
19	Mount Pleasant.....	The Hon. Jas. Byrnes	17,014	...	25	
20	America Creek.....	Mr. John Graham	1,300	...	1	For the oil-shale furnaces.
21	Britton Forest.....	Messrs. M. Larkin & Co.	100	...	4	Scarcely in working order yet.
22	America Creek.....	Mr. John Graham	...	2,076	10	For kerosene oil.
23	Western Kerosene Coal Mine.....	Western Kerosene Oil Company	...	3,000	12	For kerosene oil.
24	Hartley Kerosene Coal Mine.....	Hartley Kerosene Oil and Petroleum Coal Company,	...	1,200	6	For kerosene oil and supply of gasworks.
						Total of Coal and Oil-shale
				913,246	6,276	2,012
				6,276
				919,522	...	2,012
						Persons employed.

As the coal question is now one of the deepest interest to all classes of people, and one of national importance, I am sure it will gratify the intelligent, but especially the scientific reader, to peruse the following Report and Extracts from a Paper, entitled "New South Wales Coal-Fields," by the late W. Keene, Esq., F.G.S., London, and N. S. Wales Government Examiner of Coal-Fields.

The seam of the Australian Agricultural Company, worked at the Colliery known as the Borehole, is 163 feet from the surface, and 150 feet below the sea-level. Its average thickness is about 10 feet, with dip to the south-east of 1 in 20. This coal is highly bituminous and remarkable, in common with the Borehole and Minmi seams, for its tendency to reniform and orbicular fracture—a peculiarity which appears to belong to the middle seams of the series; the upper and lower seams being more disposed to splinty cleavage, and burning to ash with little cinder. This coal is greatly esteemed in the Melbourne and Californian markets. Ships of large tonnage can load at the staiths of the Company, to which the coal is taken from the pit's mouth by locomotives, a distance of about two miles.

Wallsend Colliery.—The coal in this pit is 127 feet from the surface, and 80 feet below the sea-level; 9 feet 10 inches in thickness, including partings, which divide the seam into three bands. The partings are together about 10 inches in thickness. The Wallsend workings are situated about half-way between Minmi and Newcastle, the strata rising towards the north-west ranges. The works connect with Newcastle by a branch railway to join the Great Northern line at Waratah, about four miles from the port, and the locomotives take coals to the ship's side at the rate of 500 tons or more daily.

The Waratah Colliery, near Newcastle, is worked by a Sydney proprietary, and they ship coal by the public cranes at Newcastle Wharf, or at Port Waratah, where they have erected a shipping-staith of their own, and at which vessels drawing 14 feet of water can load. They have on one occasion shipped as much as 900 tons in a day, and their present out-put is about 3500 tons per week.

Lambton Colliery is near to the Wallsend, and belongs to and is worked by the Scottish Australian Company. The seam crops out towards the river, but they have worked to the dip till they are now under 200 feet of cover, and their present extraction is about 200,000 tons per annum.

The price of good large round coal at all the Newcastle Collieries is 9s. 3d. per ton delivered on board, and the nut coal 5s. per ton. The Panama line of steamers used Australian coal, and the Dutch Steam Navigation Company, working in the Java and China seas, send here for their supplies.

The Minmi Colliery Company work the seam at 90 feet from the surface, and 20 feet above the sea-level. An outcrop of the seam is visible in a creek about 400 yards from the shaft, rising in a northerly direction 1 in 18. It appears to be the second seam below the chert rock which covers the Coal and Copper Company's seam at Burwood, and is bedded on a hard sandstone grit of good building stone. The coal is much liked by the blacksmiths of the district, and the small makes a good coke, as does the small coal of the collieries of the Newcastle district generally. Messrs. J. and A. Brown, the owners of these mines, raise about 300 tons a day, which is shipped at Hexham, a township on the banks of the Hunter River, ten miles from Newcastle; or the coal is sent down in barges laden with boxes, which are hoisted by a steam crane so as to load ships of any tonnage whilst at anchor in the stream. The seam averages six feet of clean coal.

The Four-mile Creek Company carries on its operations in the East Maitland district, near to the head of the navigation of the Hunter River, fifteen miles from Newcastle. There are at least three workable seams recognizable in this district; and that worked is 8 feet 6 inches in thickness, 5 feet 6 inches of which is a splint coal of very superior quality, chiefly used by the steamers navigating daily between Morpeth and Sydney.

The admirable regularity with which these ocean steamers perform their service—their engines of 160 horse-power easily kept to the top of their speed with steam to spare and blowing at the valve, give sufficient and constant evidence of the excellence of the coal; in fact, I have long considered, and often expressed the opinion that good, clean, hand-picked New South Wales coal is at least equal if not preferable to the best coals of England, when these latter have been twice transshipped; that is to say, in the state in which English coal can alone be got in Sydney, and at double the price of the best produce of our own mines.

The Four-mile Creek is a hard splint coal, does not clinker, and burns to a fine dry ash—is very comparable to the coals shipped from Goole, in Yorkshire, whilst our bituminous coals may be likened in quality to the "Hartley."

Descending the strata, and below all the seams of these collieries,

at West Maitland, about five miles north from Four-mile Creek, two seams of cannel and splinty coal are worked, the property of the Hon. Bourn Russell.

This cannel coal is most useful, and chiefly employed for domestic purposes.

Fifteen miles to the northward these lower seams again crop out in Anvil and Dalwood Creeks, and are worked at Branxton. The coal is in good repute as a steam fuel.

Thirty miles farther to the northward, at Rix's Creek, near Singleton, a seam of good coal is worked, and this concludes the collection from the Northern district.

Sixty miles south from Sydney are the ports of Bellambi and Wollongong; and though they cannot be compared for accommodation with the port of Newcastle, the energy of the coal-owners of the district, and the facility with which coals can be worked by "day-levels" from a 7-foot seam, which shows itself in a section along many miles of the mountain-range, assure to this field a progressive development to prove the inexhaustible resources of New South Wales in mineral fuel; and will be a guarantee to commercial interests that no combination or monopoly can long disturb the regularity of the supply.

By reference to the collection I exhibit, it will be seen that I can recognize eleven distinct seams, which are more or less worked. The same series of seams extends from Newcastle to the Wollongong district, disturbed and broken up only by comparatively modern eruptions of porphyries and basalts.

On the lands of the Australian Agricultural Company, a few miles from Stroud, a seam more than 30 feet in thickness crops out in the length of a creek, and this thickness has been verified by several trial-pits sunk on the dip side. There are many partings of shale and fire-clay, and the coal is of various quality in the thickness of the seam; but there is quite sufficient of good coal for profitable working, if its inland position did not render it wholly unavailable, in face of coal so easily accessible from the sea-board as that of Newcastle and Wollongong.

But late researches have laid open very extensive deposits of rich iron-ore with limestone in their vicinity, and all near to water-carriage. Such combined advantages may probably dispose so wealthy a company to make the necessary outlay for establishing an iron manufacture, of which the colony stands much in need. Specimens of this iron-ore, limestone, and coal may be seen in the mine-frame of the Company connected with the coal-seam exhibits.

New South Wales, which I have had the honour to prepare for the Exhibition.

The discovery of our wealth in brown cannel oil coals and oil shales will enable us to manufacture all the oil needful for our own consumption, and even to export the raw article. We know that it exists in many places at wide areas apart, as may be seen by reference to the map ; and like to the richness of our coal-seams, which richness is not excelled in an equal vertical section in any part of the world, we may expect that the oil shales will be of as great importance in their development ; and if we do not find oil springs, we may possess such beds of the solid material as will justify the expenditure of all the capital needful to keep up a steady and unfailing supply of the valuable and varied products which these shales and coals will yield.

The works already in activity at Hartley and America Creek, and others preparing to operate in different localities, with the general approval of the quality of the oil produced, will justify our most sanguine anticipations on this subject.

As regards the geological age of coal in New South Wales, I may repeat what I have already published—that it would be easy to add pages on this subject, if it were not irrelevant to the question with which I am now occupied, except so far as the geological age of coal is inseparably connected with its commercial value. That is to say—though there may be, and there is, much bad coal in the palæozoic or true carboniferous series, a really good coal in the oolitic lias, or tertiary deposits, is a thing unknown. To class the mineral fuel of New South Wales as belonging to either of these latter formations would be at once to discredit and condemn it in the market of the world, until, despite discredit and condemnation, its merits were discovered, when it would be tardily acknowledged that the condemnation had proceeded from an error in science, arising out of a deficient or too superficial investigation, or the too facile application of inapplicable theories.

"A reference to the collection I exhibit will settle this question, which has been so long and ably contested by the Rev. W. B. Clarke; and, for the reasons stated, I may be permitted a few words more on the subject. All the seams of the New South Wales Coal-field, from the lowest which intercalate with silurian fossils (*spirifer*, *radiata*, &c.), devonian flora (*lepidodendron*, *cyclopterus*, *adiantites*), and the bellerophon and crinoidea of the mountain limestone, to the highest and latest deposited seams, in which the flora (*equisetaceæ*, *asterophyllites*, &c.) approach the oolitic character, all are deposited con-

formably and almost in parallelism, one on the other ; covered also conformably by 1000 feet of sandstone, upon which again has been quietly deposited the Wyanamatta beds, which I have called the false coal-measures ; for with all the appearances of being coal-bearing they contain no coal, but a flora probably nearer approaching to that of the colite.

"The lower beds of the coal series of New South Wales are, then, geologically older than any worked in Europe ; whilst the upper beds represent the most recent of the European true carboniferous formation. And as all the coal-seams, from the silurian upwards, are deposited conformably, I must conclude that this portion of the globe was comparatively free from violent eruptions and disturbances from the silurian to the permian epoch, and that the alternate submergences and elevations of the land must have been slow and gradual.

"In stating my opinion here as to the age of the carboniferous deposits of New South Wales, I am in part repeating only what I reported after my first examination in this field in 1853. I then wrote :—'The coal is a true coal, not lignite, or a deposit of the tertiary epoch, but belongs to the true coal formation — is overlaid by regular beds of secondary sandstone, lying in conformable strata upon it.'"

W. KEENE,
Government Examiner of Coal-fields ;
F.G.S., London ; M.A.S., of Bordeaux ;
Cor. Mem. Geo. Ins., of Vienna.

Newcastle, New South Wales,
10th January, 1867.

Since the above date, and on the 30th April, 1868, Mr. Keene reported the discovery of a seam of coal 22 feet in thickness, at Greta, near Branxton, in which he found no less than seven varieties of coal, all good, separated only by thin partings of shale. The uppermost coal is like a resinite, glossy and transparent at the edge, lighting readily at a candle-flame ; and this is followed by a bed of brown petroleum-coal, like to the Bog-head coal ; then a considerable thickness of cannelite, and lower down in the seam, divided only by a thin parting of shale, is 5 feet 9 inches and 4 feet 8 inches of excellent bright steam coal, equal to any yet worked in the district.

Mr. Keene concludes his Report thus:—"I cannot refrain from saying that it is more remarkable for variety and quantity of coal than any coal-seam which has come under my observation in any part of the world. Its geological position is below the spirifer beds; it is the lowest seam but one of our carboniferous deposits, and will be found to extend from Greta over a large area. Its proximity to the Great Northern Railway, and the excellent quality of the coal, will insure its being extensively worked.

At a still later date (28th April, 1870) Mr. Keene addressed the following Report to the Under Secretary for Lands, which gives much interesting information on the working of our Collieries during the past year, the quantity of coal extracted, with the total number of persons employed; and in the case of the Australian Agricultural Company's Colliery, the number of persons immediately dependent on the working of that Company's Colliery:—

Coal-fields Office, Newcastle,
28th April, 1870.

SIR,

I do myself the honour to forward you herewith the Reports of the Inspector of Collieries, Mr. Thos. Lewis, for the year 1869; and in attention to the request in your letter of the 22nd instant, that I would report upon the condition and prospects of the coal-fields in the past year, I beg to state, for the information of the Honourable the Secretary for Lands, that no preceding year has equalled the promise and activity of 1869.

2. The quality of our coal is year by year better appreciated, and I am informed that at Madras it meets English coal at equal prices, and is greatly esteemed for gas manufacture. In the China market the difference in price, which used to be from five to six thalers, has fallen to one-and-a-half thaler. I have always expressed the opinion that time would dissipate the prejudices as to the qualities of our coal, and that when shipped direct from the mines here, it would be found to be more advantageous in use than English coal, generally subjected to two or three transshipments.

3. The error as to the geological position of our coal, and which attributed it to a much later age than the European beds, has entirely disappeared, and in a "Treatise on Coal and Coal Mining," by Warrington Smyth, published only two years ago, during his presidency of the Geological Society, he says that the numerous observa-

tions on them, contributed by Mr. Beete Jukes, the Rev. W. B. Clarke, Mr. Selwyn, and Mr. W. Keene, leave no doubt as to the palæozoic character of the lower part of a great conformable series of "strata," and in the table of stratified rocks he places the New South Wales coal as belonging to a period from the Devonian to the Trias.

4. New works are in progress in various directions. New Lambton is an important extension of our colliery workings, and the original Lambton, or Scottish Australian Company, is engaged in an important and interesting sinking for coal, at Stockton, on the North Shore, opposite Newcastle. A cast-iron "tubbing," or shaft, of seven feet diameter, has, in a few weeks' work, been very expertly let down, without pumping out the water, through 82 feet of loose sand, to the clay-bed, by special, ingenious, and well-adapted contrivances of the Manager, Mr. Croudace; and I expect that from knowledge acquired by previous borings they will win the same seam as is worked by the Australian Agricultural Company, at a depth of about 240 feet.

5. Messrs. Vindin and Mitchell are commencing operations at Greta; and further to the north, in the direction of the line of railway, coal is found near Muswellbrook, at Wingen, Page's River, and Murrurundi. In the west, researches continue to be made for workable seams near Mount Victoria and Little Hartley. The Western Petroleum Coal Company have greatly increased their facilities of transport to the railway, and a fine seam of coal has been opened at Lithgow Valley, near to the Bowenfells Railway Station. The Rev. W. B. Clarke has reported on this seam for a Company now forming to work it, and from my own examination I can confirm all that Mr. Clarke has reported as to the extent, thickness, quality, and facility of working of this coal. In the south, Wollongong maintains its reputation as producing a good steam coal, and near to the Great Southern Railway seams have been proved to be workable at various points, particularly at the Cataract and Sutton Forest.

6. I have examined seams more than 700 miles to the north of Newcastle, belonging to the same deposits we are working here, covered and underlaid by the same fossil flora and fauna; and we may, without boasting, claim to rank with the most extensive coal-field in the world.

7. A very correct idea may be formed of the number of persons supported by our colliery workings, independent of navigation, by the following statistical table, furnished to me by the courtesy of Mr. Merewether, taken from the books of the Australian Agricul-

Company, and which shows the number of persons immediately dependent on the workings of that Company's colliery only :—

	Men.	Women.	Male Children.	Female Children.	Total.
Staff	3	3	4	3	13
Sundry	109	57	91	84	341
Miners and Wheelers	264	165	218	250	897
	376	225	313	337	1251

8. From the same books it appears that of the 376 persons directly employed, as shown in the preceding table, an average of 278 were getters and wheelers of coal, to whom was paid the gross sum of 28,861*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*, or at the rate of 103*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* per man per annum, equal to 7*s.* 6*d.* per day for each day worked. The total quantity of coal raised by this Company was 168,108 tons.

9. I also annex a tabular statement of the numbers of persons employed in each colliery, and the quantities of coal raised, from which it will be seen that the entire quantity of coal raised in 1869 by the Collieries of Newcastle and its vicinity, including Minmi, amount to 778,263 tons. The Northern pits have raised 35,892, and the Southern, 99,091 tons; and 6276 tons of oil-coal and shale have been raised in the Southern and Western Districts, making a total of 919,522 tons.

10. On the average it may be estimated that 2000 tons of shipping enter, and 2000 tons of shipping per day leave, the port of Newcastle. The new coal-staiths when ready for use will greatly facilitate the work of loading, to the great advantage of the port. From all I can learn from the principal mercantile houses of Newcastle, an equal, and probably a greater, amount of business may be expected in this than in the last year, for the exportation to India, China, and San Fransisco, is steadily on the increase. The shipment to the latter port was 21,895 in 1868, increased to 65,589 tons in 1869; and already, in the first quarter of the present year, the shipments amount to 19,774 tons.

11. The complaints of insufficient ventilation in some of the Collieries, as set forth in the reports of Mr. Inspector Lewis for the last six months, have given me much anxiety, for I considered it doubtful that I would obtain any conviction under the Act without some very positive means of proving the fact out of the mine. To effect this

object I have made a very simple apparatus for showing the purity of any volume of air in which it may be placed, and which I can exhibit in action to any Bench of Magistrates to support any complaints I may judge necessary to bring before them. I therefore consider that the law will be sufficient as it stands; should it prove otherwise I will report it to you.

12. I have given attention to all accidents as they have arisen, of which particulars will be found in Mr. Lewis's Reports, with a tabular statement annexed.

I have, &c.,

WILLIAM KEENE,

Examiner of Coal-fields.

The Under Secretary for Lands.

From the "Statistical Register for 1872."

"The number of coal mines which were worked during the year 1872 was 22, producing 1,012,426 tons, valued at 396,197L. As compared with 1871, there was an increase both in quantity and value of 113,642 tons and 79,857L respectively. The export trade during the year was 669,110 tons. The largest quantities shipped (exclusive of colonial consumption) were as follows:—

To Victoria	190,975 tons
United States, chiefly San Francisco .	109,107 , ,
New Zealand	107,014 , ,
South Australia	79,063 , ,
Hong Kong	68,085 , ,
Shanghai	34,091 , ,
Tasmania	10,463 , ,
Mauritius	10,308 , ,

The total export exceeded that of 1871 by 103,681 tons.

On my last voyage to England by Cape Horn, the captain of the vessel by which I had taken my passage had previously been employed in the North American trade, and it occurred to me that it might not be uninteresting in the way of comparing the value of the natural productions of New South Wales with those of North America to compare a cargo from Quebec, the captain's usual destination in his former voyages, with a cargo from New South Wales. The following, therefore, was the result of that comparison:

Cargo homeward from Quebec.

	£ s. d.
1100 loads of Canadian timber, of 50 cubic feet per load, at 1s. 6d. per foot in England	4125 0 0
Staves and deals, valued at	200 0 0
Total value in England	4325 0 0
Usual freight, 30s. per load, for 1100 loads	1650 0 0
Value, exclusive of freight	<u>£2675 0 0</u>

Cargo homeward from Sydney.

	£ s. d.
1. Animal productions.—Wool, 1736 bales, of 3 cwt. each, at 1s. 4d. per lb.	38,886 8 0
" " Tallow, 64 casks = 30 tons, at 36l. per ton	1080 0 0
" " Preserved meat, 8261 cases, containing 46,006 lbs. at 8d. per lb.	1533 10 8
" " Hides, 683, at 18s. each	614 14 0
" " Bundles of sheep-skins, 26, of 40 skins each, at 2s. per skin	104 0 0
" " Bones, 23 tons, at 3l. per ton; 13 cwt. shank-bones at 7l. per ton	73 11 0
" " Horns, 2436, at 5l. per 1000	12 0 0
" " Hoofs, 15 cwt. at 4l. per ton	3 0 0
2. Vegetable productions.—Timber, 354 loads, iron bark and spotted gum, —say 9l. 10s. per load	3186 0 0
" " Treenails, 18,400, at 5l. per 1000	92 0 0
" " Wine, 29 casks, 70 gal. each, at 5s. per gallon	507 10 0
3. Mineral productions.—Gold, 37 packages, containing 20,305 oz. 12 dwt., at 3l. 17s. 6d. per oz.	78,671 17 6
Total	<u>£124,764 11 2</u>

Doubtless the gold in this enumeration was an extraordinary addition to the previous exports of Australia; but even subtracting the whole amount of that item, there remains for the Canadian cargo only 4325*l.* against the Australian amount of 46,092*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* A ship can doubtless very easily make two voyages to Quebec for one to Sydney; but she would require to make ten such voyages before she could carry as much in real value to Great Britain as the value of a single cargo from Sydney, independently of gold altogether. The reader will, therefore, perceive that there must be a wonderful difference between the resources of the two countries, and the prospects which they hold forth respectively to intending emigrants.

CHAPTER III.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIONS OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

"The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land—a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates ; a land of oil-olive and honey ; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness ; thou shalt not lack anything in it ; a land, whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass."—Deut. viii. 8, 9.

WITH the exception of the open plains which occur on the elevated levels in the interior of the country, and which, like the plain of Bathurst, are naturally destitute of timber, the territory of New South Wales is in its natural state one vast interminable forest. In many parts of the colony, and especially in the interior, the land is but thinly timbered; there being not more than three or four trees of moderate height and of rather interesting appearance to the acre. In such places the country resembles the park scenery around a nobleman's seat in England, and you gallop along with a feeling of indescribable pleasure. In general, however, the forest-land is more thickly timbered, sufficiently so to form an agreeable shade in a hot Australian summer-day, without preventing the traveller from proceeding in any direction at a rapid trot or canter. On the banks of rivers, and especially on the alluvial land within reach of their inundations, the forest becomes what the colonists call a *thick brush* or *jungle*. Immense trees of the genus *Eucalyptus* tower upwards in every direction to a height of from 100 to 150 feet ; while the elegant cedar, and the rose-wood of inferior elevation, and innumerable wild vines or parasitical

plants, fill up the interstices. In sterile regions however, on rocky mountain-tracts, or on sandy-plains, the forest degenerates into a miserable *scrub*, as the colonists term it ; the trees are stunted in their growth and of most forbidding aspect, the fruit they bear being literally pieces of hard wood, similar in appearance to a pear, and their shapeless trunks being not unfrequently blackened from the action of fire. In such regions, the more social animals of the country entirely disappear. The agile kangaroo is no longer seen bounding across the footpath, nor the gaily-plumaged parroquet heard chattering among the branches. If anything with the breath of life is visible at all, it is either the timid grey lizard hiding itself in the crevices of the rocks, or the solitary black snake stretched at full length on the white sand, or the busy ant rearing his slender pyramid of yellowish clay,¹ as if in mockery of the huger monuments of the Pharaohs, and establishing his puny republic amid the loneliness of desolation. In such forbidding regions the mind unavoidably partakes of the gloominess of nature; and the only idea that takes forcible hold of it is, that such must assuredly be the region, on which the ancient primeval curse, to which the earth was subjected for the sin of man, has especially fallen.

There is a much greater extent of forest than of alluvial land in a state of cultivation throughout the colony. Heavily-timbered land intended for cultivation is cleared in the following manner. The underwood, which occurs only on alluvial land, is all cut down in the first instance in the proper season, the bushes either falling to the ground or remaining attached by their upper branches standing timber. When the fallen underwood is withered, all the standing trees that are rebuilding, fencing, &c., are cut down and rolled

¹ These pyramids are sometimes six feet high.

forest, after their branches have been lopped off, to the nearest cleared land, or to saw-pits formed in the vicinity, where they are cut up for whatever purposes they are required. This species of labour is generally performed by sawyers who work by contract, at so much per hundred feet, and receive part of their earnings in rations from the proprietor of the land.

The trees are then cut down at about three feet from the ground ; and, in clearing heavily-timbered land, the usual practice of skilful fellers is to cut a number of smaller trees half through ; and then, selecting a large or master-tree, to form a deep indentation with an axe in the side of it nearest the small ones, and then to saw towards the indentation from the opposite side. When nearly sawn through, the large tree falls towards the side on which the indentation has been formed, and bears down before it perhaps twenty or thirty smaller trees. When all the trees on the piece of land to be cleared are felled in this way, they are sawn into proper lengths, rolled together, and burnt. This operation generally takes place in the case of alluvial land, immediately before the time for the planting of maize or Indian corn, viz. in the months of September and October.

The cost of clearing heavily-timbered alluvial land is about 5*l.* an acre, but a single crop of maize generally covers that expense. Thinly-timbered forest-land is of course cleared at a much smaller cost. Maize is rarely planted on land of the latter description, and wheat is seldom sown on alluvial land till after it has produced one or two crops of maize.

The following is a return of the number of acres of land under each of the usual descriptions of grain crops, or of other agricultural produce, in the colony of New South Wales, for the year ending 31st March, 1873, with the amounts of produce realized in that year :—

Crops.	Acres.	Produce.
Wheat	177,551	2,898,468 bushels.
Maize	116,745	3,984,958 "
Barley	3,727	70,708 "
Oats	13,586	270,967 "
Rye	1,260	17,671 "
Millet	281	4,243 "
Potatoes	15,123	45,112 tons.
Tobacco	440	2,751 cwt.
Arrowroot	38	32,613 lbs.
Sorghum and Imphee	69	44 tons.
Sugar-cane	5,471	97,820 cwt.
Hay	65,832	105,929 tons.
For wine-making	2,568	451,450 gallons.
Vines { For table use	655	573 tons.
Unproductive	866	
Gardens and orchards	15,016	
Green fodder	32,510	
All others	2,892	

The average yield of wheat per acre was over sixteen bushels.

"Statistical Register for 1872."

The most important of these articles of produce is wheat, which is grown all over the colony, wherever the land is suited for cultivation, and of which both the quality and the amount of produce depend greatly upon the soil, the season, and the situation. Wheat is sown in March, April, and May; sometimes, however, not till June: it is reaped in November, the first month of summer in the southern hemisphere; but in the high lands the seasons are much later. In the high lands of the colony, along its whole length from north to south, the quality of this grain is much superior to that which is grown along the coast, while the produce is generally more abundant. The wheat grown along the coast, especially to the northward, is subject to be attacked by the weevil, an insect which preys upon the kernel of the grain, and the crop is, therefore, somewhat precarious; but the weevil is unknown at an elevation of 2000 feet above the level of the sea, and in such situations

the grain can be kept for any period. All this sufficiently indicates that the high lands are the proper wheat lands of the colony, and that it would probably pay the cultivator much better to appropriate the low lands for the production of other articles of agricultural produce for which the climate would be more suitable, and of which the returns would be less uncertain and more remunerative. It will be difficult, however, to induce the present race of colonial agriculturists to act upon this rational principle, or to abandon the long-established practice of attempting to grow wheat on any land, however unsuitable for that description of grain. Water-carriage along the coast enables the colonial agriculturist in that situation to get his grain conveyed to market at a comparatively trifling expense ; and it will only be when railways shall have reached the high lands of the interior generally, as they are now doing, that he will feel the formidable character of the competition of these elevated regions. Besides, in favourable seasons the wheat crops along the coast are generally good, and steam navigation to the best market in the colony is a great inducement to perseverance.

In ordinary seasons, the return of wheat per acre varies, according to the nature of the soil, from fifteen to thirty bushels : I have heard of as much as forty-five and even fifty bushels an acre being reaped in the district of Argyle, and my late brother's crop at Hunter's River averaged one year thirty-five bushels per acre. In the year 1835, in which there was a general failure of the crop from drought over a considerable part of the territory, my brother, whose land along the river was low, and they were less affected by the drought, reaped 3500 bushels of wheat from 150 acres of land, or at the rate of $23\frac{1}{2}$ bushels an acre. Forty acres of that land, being the bed of an old lagoon, yielded $1707\frac{1}{2}$ bushels, or $42\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per acre : another field, of 22 acres, produced 567 bushels, or $25\frac{3}{4}$ bushels per acre. The average

of the statistical table I have inserted above, from the annual Statistical Returns of the colony, is sixteen bushels; but I was assured, a few years ago, when visiting the Orange District of the western interior, which is 3500 feet above the level of the sea, by a respectable miller and squatter, who had gained a prize for his own wheat in the Paris Exhibition, that they had never lost a crop in that district, and that the average had never been less than 25 bushels an acre. But, considering the very inferior character of much of the agriculture of the colony, the slovenly manner in which the tillage is performed, and the pertinacity with which crop after crop of wheat is solicited from the same land, without either intermission or rotation, it will scarcely be a matter of surprise to those who know anything of the subject, that the average should be so low. Wheat, year after year, for twenty years together, and sometimes wheat and maize in succession off the same ground, during the same year, is the Sangrado system of husbandry, that has hitherto prevailed on the banks of the Hawkesbury, which is still the principal agricultural district of New South Wales. It has often indeed been alleged, that New South Wales is not an agricultural country; and if agriculture is to be considered synonymous with wheat-growing, and if the lowlands of the colony are to be the only lands to be taken into consideration, there is something to be said in favour of this allegation: but while these lowlands are fitted, and therefore designed, for a very different species of cultivation, it is undeniable that there are tracts, chiefly of elevated table-land, in that country, of the first quality for the production of wheat, and of sufficient extent to supply that grain for a population of millions.²

² Wheat is now a regular article of export to England from the province of South Australia, where agriculture is much more extensively pursued than in New South Wales, although the average yield is much lower.

The next species of grain, in point of importance, is maize, or Indian corn. This grain, which does not stand the climate of the elevated table-lands of the interior, is much better suited than wheat for the rich alluvial lands on the banks of rivers on the coast. In such situations the crop very seldom fails. The maize of New South Wales has been acknowledged by gentlemen well acquainted with the cultivation of that species of grain in the United States to be superior to any they had ever seen elsewhere: it forms the favourite food of horses, and is used for the fattening of pigs and poultry; but it seldom constitutes an article of food for man. The meal into which it is ground is sometimes made into a sort of *porridge* or pudding, called *hominy*, somewhat similar, both in taste and appearance, to the preparation of oatmeal so general as an article of food among the humbler classes in Scotland. With an equal quantity of wheaten flour, it makes excellent household bread, the maize meal being in the first instance reduced to the state of *hominy*. Indeed, maize might form a profitable article of export to the mother country, especially as in favourable seasons it can be obtained, of the very best quality, at from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a bushel—a price which would enable the British merchant to sell it at such a rate as would render it a cheap as well as wholesome article of food for the labouring classes in England. This valuable grain is much used as an article of food among the farmers of New England, in America, who prepare it in a great variety of ways.

In planting maize or Indian corn, shallow holes are made in the cleared land with a hoe, at a distance of about three feet from each other, in rows about five feet asunder; into each of these holes four or five grains of maize are dropped, and then covered up; and if the season is moist, vegetation immediately commences, and proceeds with such amazing rapidity, that, in a very few weeks, the burnt

stumps of the large trees, which are usually left standing all over the field, are entirely covered with the green corn, which in due time attains the height of six or eight feet, and produces in rich alluvial land at the rate of from 40 or 50 to 80 bushels an acre. From 164 acres of maize, on my late brother's farm at Hunter's River, in the year 1836, the quantity of grain gathered was 8000 bushels, or 48 $\frac{1}{4}$ bushels per acre. In the higher parts of the district, of course farther from the Pacific, the maize crop had in that year proved a failure. Mr. Flett, ex-M.P., an extensive proprietor on the Manning River, originally from the Orkney Islands, has informed me that he has harvested a hundred bushels of maize to the acre, on that river; and the same quantity, as I have already observed, has also been harvested on the River Hastings, at Port Macquarie. In the neighbourhood of growing trees, the maize has to be watched all night for two or three weeks after it is planted, by a watchman stationed for the purpose; otherwise the bandicoots and opossums would dig up the grain and eat it: and when the watchman neglects his duty, as is sometimes the case, the maize must be planted a second time. Each cornstalk terminates at the top in what is called a *tassel*, which waves beautifully in the wind along the rows like a grenadier's feather, and bears on the lower parts of it two, three, or even four or five cobs or heads of corn, each of which is enclosed in a thick casement of leaves, and springs obliquely from the stalk. In the month of March, when the corn is sufficiently ripe, these cobs are pulled, collected in heaps in the field, and then carted to a shed or out-house. A second or late crop of maize, however, is frequently planted on the wheat-stubble-land, especially in alluvial soil, immediately after the wheat harvest. The produce of this crop is generally of inferior quality; but in particular seasons, as for instance when the early part of the summer has been very dry, it turns out better than the early or

forward crop. The stumps of the large trees that are left in the ground on the clearing of the land, are usually burnt out, when the settler is able to afford that expense, by labourers, who work by contract, and who receive part of their wages in rations from the farm.

The other descriptions of European grain are grown only to a limited extent in New South Wales; oats being generally grown only to be cut as hay for horses in the principal towns, and barley being grown chiefly for brewers and distillers. Off 25 acres, on my brother's farm, in the year 1835, the quantity of barley reaped was 600 bushels, or 24 bushels per acre. Five acres of lagoon land produced 40 bushels an acre.

Potatoes grown on the high lands, in the interior, are quite as good as in any part of the world; but they are often of inferior quality on the coast, although occasionally, even there, as good as anywhere else.

Fences are uniformly constructed in New South Wales, as in America,³ of wooden posts and rails; the posts being about nine feet asunder, and the fence being either of three, four, or five rails, according to the purpose for which it is required. This species of labour is, for the most part, performed by labourers, who work for hire, at so much per rod. The hawthorn, which has been used successfully for hedges on several estates in Tasmania, loses its bushy character in New South Wales, and degenerates into a slender delicate shrub devoid of prickles. The aloe, which is used for the purpose of fencing in the island of Sicily, has been recommended as a substitute, as also a species of acacia from India, of which I have seen several specimens

³ In New England, however, they are generally, as in Scotland, what are called "dry stane dikes." I observed this particularly in Massachusetts, where the stones of which the "dikes" are built are gathered off the land.

in the colony: but so long as timber can be easily procured, the colonists are likely to prefer the four-rail fence to any substitute, although it must be acknowledged that it does not look so well as a lively hawthorn hedge.

The mildness of the climate of New South Wales precludes the necessity for cultivating anything in the shape of winter food for sheep or cattle; and the great abundance and unbounded extent of the native pastures of the colony render the use of artificial food quite unnecessary, except for the numerous horses and other beasts of burden that are kept in towns. Hay, of the native grass, and sometimes of oats, is sold in Sydney market by the cart-load.

Tobacco is one of the articles of agricultural produce, which is eminently adapted to the soil and climate of New South Wales; and the portion of the colony in which this plant has hitherto been cultivated most extensively and also most successfully, is the district of Hunter's River, and especially the banks of the Patterson and William's Rivers, two of its principal tributaries.⁴ Having had occasion to visit that part of the territory in the month of March, 1830, my father, who was then residing at my brother's property, but who was unfortunately lost at sea on his way to Sydney in a small coasting-vessel during the month following,⁵ pointed out to me several plants of wild or indigenous tobacco, which he had observed growing in the rich alluvial land which formed part of the dry bed of a lagoon on the property, and remarked that the circumstance seemed to indicate the peculiar adaptation of the plant to the soil and climate of New South Wales. He also showed

⁴ I have been told by an extensive tobacco manufacturer in Sydney, that the best quality of tobacco grown in the colony is that of the Lachlan River in the western interior.

⁵ Steam navigation was established between Sydney and Hunter's River in the year 1831: many fatal accidents had taken place on the coast previously.

me at the same time several stalks of indigenous flax, exactly similar in appearance to the flax of Europe, of which he had collected a small quantity of the seed, with a view to ascertain whether its cultivation might be practicable or beneficial to the colony.

The country on the Patterson and William's Rivers and their tributaries is generally of trap formation; and the alluvial soil, in which the tobacco plant is uniformly grown, is formed principally of decomposed trap. From what I observed myself, in traversing the famous tobacco-growing States of Virginia and Maryland, in the United States, in the year 1840, I should consider both the soil and climate of this part of New South Wales much better adapted for tobacco cultivation than those of either of these States; and Americans from that section of the Union have acknowledged that they have never seen the plant so vigorous or the leaves so large in their own country as in New South Wales. In short, nothing, I believe, is wanting to place New South Wales on a footing of equality with the United States, even in this peculiar branch of cultivation, but greater skill and experience in the manufacture of the article. The Americans themselves consider the soil and climate of Texas better adapted for tobacco cultivation than those of Virginia itself; and Hunter's River, in New South Wales, is in precisely the same latitude in the southern hemisphere as Texas is in the northern. The following extracts on this subject are taken from a valuable "*Report on the Capabilities of North Eastern Texas*, by Edward Smith, M.D. and LL.D., and John Barrow, Esq., C.E. London, 1849."

"Mr. Houndsell, of Lamar county, says, 'His tobacco is very healthful, and grows luxuriantly. Its quality is inferior to none; but they do not know how to manufacture it, and therefore cannot bring it into the market, but he sells it at home at half a dollar per pound. The castor-oil

tree grows abundantly in the woods around him, and yields the finest quality of oil.' ”

“ Major Campbell, of Clinton, near Jefferson, Texas, says, ‘ He had recently commenced the cultivation of tobacco. The usual return is 700 lbs. per acre, selling at ten dollars per 100 lbs., whilst the Virginia tobacco sells at five dollars per 100 lbs. One hand [or negro slave] ‘ will raise ten acres of tobacco and five acres of [Indian] corn yearly, yielding a return from the tobacco only of 700 dollars a year. He thinks this production is very suitable for Europeans.’ ”

The following account of the process and results of tobacco cultivation in New South Wales was forwarded to me, at my own special request, by my esteemed friend and brother, the Rev. William Ridley, M.A., who accompanied me out to the colony, as a candidate for the ministry, in the year 1849. He was stationed at the time at Dungog, William’s River.

“ Dungog, 23rd December, 1851.

“ On the upper part of the William, Allyn, and Patterson Rivers, the most profitable crop is tobacco.

“ The following account of the method of cultivating tobacco is taken from the lips of Mr. Trotter of the Chichester, ten or twelve miles above Dungog, who is considered the most skilful tobacco grower within a large circuit.

“ In the middle of July they begin to sow the tobacco seed, which is saved from plants of the foregoing year, and is now and then changed with advantage so as to introduce seed to a soil new to it. They continue sowing every fortnight or three weeks until October, so as to secure a succession of beds of plants. If the weather is dry the seed must be watered : $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet is a common width for a bed ; the length, of course, being according to the extent of ground intended for the crop. While the seed is coming up they plough and harrow the land intended to be planted, and make little mounds with a hoe having each a hole 5 or 6 inches deep in the middle, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 3 or by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet asunder, ready to receive the young plants.

“ As soon as the plants have grown to the size of a small tea-cup

they are carefully dug up (the root must be preserved entire), and one is planted in each of the holes prepared : if the land is dry the holes are first watered.

"Planting goes on from the end of September to the end of December, generally.

"Unless the day is cloudy, the tobacco should be planted in the evening, and watered the same evening : early the next morning each plant is covered with a shingle, as close as can be without bruising the plant, for two days. If there is no rain the shingles are thrown off at night and the plants watered, and covered up again in the morning. After the two days they raise up one end of the shingle to admit light and air a little ; and at the end of another three days they raise the shingle higher, and if no rain has fallen they water the plants again. At the end of other eight days they remove the shingles altogether. If not attacked by insects the plants will by this time have begun to grow.

"The reason for having several successive beds of young plants is that, through insects or drought, the crop often fails at an early stage, and has to be replaced from a later bed.

"The plants must be watched, and insects and dead leaves picked off. As soon as the plants have risen a few inches above the ground the lower leaves are taken away, and the earth heaped up round the plants. If any plants show more than one stalk all but one must be cut off.

"When 2½ or 3 feet high they show flower : the bud must be pinched out with finger and thumb ; then, suckers will begin to grow at the foot of each leaf : these are all to be pinched off ; this has to be done sometimes three or four times. Caterpillars often appear at this stage, and at times a maggot gets in between the upper and lower surface of the leaf and eats its way down into the stalk : these must be picked off or the plants will be ruined.

"When ready for plucking the leaves become brown, with spots : this happens about February, March, or April, according to the time of planting and the season. The plants are cut off three inches above the ground, and hung up, with pegs fastened to poles, till dry, that is about a month, in *dark* sheds. If hung in daylight they dry too green. When dry the leaves are pulled off and packed flat together. The stalks are thrown away as useless.

"At this stage the growers, *now*, sell their tobacco. A few years ago they all 'stoved' their own tobacco, and often greatly injured its qualities. The merchant now prepares the tobacco.

"After being packed it is pressed in a screw-press, and heated by a

slow furnace to about 120 Fahrenheit—a process called ‘stoving.’ It is then twisted into ‘figs’ and is ready for use.

“As to the amount of produce: one ton from an acre is a good but not unusual quantity; and 50*l.* or 70*l.* is a common price for a ton.”

I may add, as another coincidence in the general character of the soil and climate of New South Wales with those of Texas, that the castor-oil tree, although not indigenous, is as much a weed in our alluvial lands as it seems to be in Texas, and would doubtless yield the finest quality of oil also, if we had only intelligent and industrious colonists in sufficient numbers to render the experiment practicable. The castor-oil tree is highly ornamental, its leaves bearing some resemblance to those of the horse-chestnut tree.

Another branch of cultivation for which the soil and climate of New South Wales appear to be admirably adapted is that of the vine. “By one of those chances that are scarcely conceivable,” observes M. Peron, the intelligent naturalist and historian of the French expedition of discovery, in the year 1802, “Great Britain is the only one of the great maritime powers which does not cultivate the vine, either in her own territory, or in her colonies; and yet the consumption of that beverage is immense on board her fleets, and throughout the whole extent of the vast regions subject to her empire. Constrained to draw that enormous quantity of alcoholic liquors from France, from Spain, from Portugal, and even from Holland, she sees with regret a large portion of the capital of the nation annually absorbed in purchases of this kind, and ardently aspires for the means of freeing herself from this burdensome tribute. It was principally with this view that during the last war she attempted the conquest of the Canary Isles; and this was one of the great motives that determined her twice to attack the Cape

of Good Hope. That which she has been unable to obtain, or which, if she does obtain it, it will only be momentarily by the force of her arms, she solicits and hopes for from her Australian colonies ; and *in spite of the obstacles I have just mentioned, everything announces that she will attain her end.*"⁶

Without vouching for the correctness of M. Peron's historical deduction, that it was the irrepressible desire of Great Britain for Teneriffe wine and Cape Madeira that induced her to attempt the conquest, first of the Canary Islands and afterwards of the Cape of Good Hope, it was certainly a remarkable instance of the foresight of that gentleman to predict with confidence, so long as seventy years ago, that the British colonies of Australia would eventually become wine-growing countries. That they are now realizing this prediction will appear from the fact that, during the year 1872, there were 4090 acres of land under the vine in New South Wales, of which the produce in wine was 451,450 gallons, and in brandy 966 gallons.

The district of Hunter's River has taken the lead in

⁶ "Par un de ces hasards difficiles à concevoir, la Grande-Bretagne est la seule des grandes puissances maritimes qui ne récolte pas de vins, soit sur son territoire, soit dans les colonies ; et cependant la consommation de cette liqueur est immense à bord de ses flottes et dans toute l'étendue des vastes régions soumises à son empire. Contrainte de tirer cette énorme quantité de boissons de la France, de l'Espagne, du Portugal, et même de la Hollande, elle voit à regret une forte partie des capitaux de la nation absorbée tous les ans par les achats en ce genre, et aspire avec ardeur aux moyens de se libérer de ce tribut onéreux. Ce fut principalement dans cette vue qu'elle tenta, durant la dernière guerre, la conquête des îles Canaries ; c'est un des grands motifs qui l'ont déterminée deux fois à l'attaque du Cap de Bonne-Espérance. Ce qu'elle n'a pu obtenir, ou ce qu'elle n'aura sans doute obtenu que momentanément par la force de ses armes, elle le sollicite, elle l'espère de ses colonies aux terres Australes ; et malgré les obstacles dont je viens de parler, tout annonce qu'elle doit arriver à son but."—Peron, i. 387.

this branch of cultivation, as well as in that of tobacco. There has been a Vineyard Association in that district for many years past, which has proved very serviceable not only to the district but to the colony generally, and the success of which called into existence another association of a more ambitious character for the whole colony, which has its head quarters in Sydney; the Hunter's River Vineyard Association holding its meetings annually in the provincial town of Maitland. At these meetings, papers—sometimes of superior ability—on vine cultivation and wine making, are read; reports are received from the different members; specimens of wine and brandy are examined and tested, and premiums are adjudged; the whole proceedings being duly reported in the provincial papers. The county of Durham, which is situated on the left bank of the Hunter, and which includes the trap country of the Patterson and William's Rivers, is the principal seat of this branch of colonial industry.

Cumberland being the metropolitan county of the colony, a large proportion of the grapes grown in that county may find their way to the Sydney market, for the supply of the capital; but as there is a daily steam communication between Sydney and Hunter's River, perhaps as large a quantity may be disposed of in the same way from that district. It is the character of the soil, however, that constitutes the chief ground of difference; the sandstone formation of the county of Cumberland being much less favourable for the growth of the vine, and especially for the production of wine, than the trap formation of Hunter's River. My late brother, whose estate abuts both upon the Hunter and the Patterson, where both these rivers are large navigable streams, obtained, from the Horticultural Society of Sydney, of which he was a member, the prize—a silver cup—for the best grapes produced in the colony, two or three years in succession; which proves sufficiently that the soil and

climate of Hunter's River are admirably adapted for the growth of the vine.

Grapes for table use occupied 665 of the 4090 acres under the vine in New South Wales in 1872, from which there were produced 573 tons of fruit.

My brother's vineyard, which has acquired some celebrity in the colony, from the extraordinary results it exhibited, not only as compared with other vine-growing countries, but with those even of New South Wales generally, is situated on the banks of the Patterson River, and consists of about eight acres. It was planned and formed by Mr. George Schmid, a highly intelligent Wirtemberger, from the neighbourhood of Stuttgart. The soil consists entirely of rich alluvial land which has been deposited from the inundations of the river in the course of many successive ages; and as the country through which the river flows is a trap country, the general basis of the soil is decomposed trap.

The vineyard is divided by paths intersecting each other at right angles, into four compartments; all of which have a slope towards the centre, where there was formerly a small pool, which has been transformed into a draw-well. Around and over this well, Mr. Schmid had constructed a circular arbour of trellis work, with a conical roof; and round this framework he had trained two or three vines, which covered it completely, forming a very agreeable shade in the midst even of an Australian summer. The Southern Germans have uniformly an erection of this kind, which they call a *lusthaus*, or pleasure-house, in their vineyards. I saw many of them myself in the year 1837, in the small strips of vineyard belonging to the more respectable citizens of Stuttgart, on the terraced hills around that city; the citizens generally visiting them in the evenings of summer or autumn, and sometimes taking their evening meal in them.

In regard to the average produce of the vine in other vine-growing countries, I am not possessed of the requisite information to speak confidently. The late Mr. James Busby, a highly respectable colonist, who wrote on the subject, and who had previously travelled in the South of Europe to make inquiries respecting the cultivation of the vine, and to procure a number of valuable cuttings for the colony from the best vineyards of France and Spain, states that in France the vintage yields on an average 247 gallons per acre; and adds that Mr. W. Macarthur's produce in New South Wales had one year been 250 gallons, although a considerably larger quantity was expected in future. Mr. Clement Hodgkinson, however, thinks Mr. Busby's estimate much too low an average for the central and western portions of France, in which he had himself resided. The Spanish vineyards around Xeres, where the wine called "Sherry" is made, yield, it seems, from 300 to 800 gallons per acre; and Mr. Hodgkinson assumes 400 gallons as a fair average for New South Wales. I observe also, in the *Report on the Capabilities of Texas*, by Dr. Smith and Mr. Barrow, that "on the hills of Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, in North America, 400 gallons of wine are produced from the acre, and sold at one dollar and a quarter per gallon."

In a published Letter to Earl Grey, of date 26th Sept., 1849, by the late James King, Esq., of Irrawang, William's River, one of the ablest and most successful cultivators of the vine in New South Wales, that gentleman observes: "As to the quantity, I may mention that under ordinary circumstances, the produce of the vines whence my red wine has been made, averages from 250 to 300 gallons per acre; that of those producing the white, from 400 to 500 gallons per acre."

The following, however, has been the produce of three different varieties of vine in my brother's vineyard:—

One acre of Black Cluster, or Burgundy, produced 500 —

gallons the first year of bearing, 500 the second, and 400 the third.

The Lambrusquat, or Black Spanish grape, produced 800 gallons per acre.

In regard to the third variety, the Black Hamburg grape, I quote the following passage from Mr. King's Letter to Earl Grey: "It may not be uninteresting for your Lordship to learn that Mr. Lang's vineyard here, on the Patterson, has this year (1849) produced 1800 gallons of wine, and a ton weight of fruit besides, from a single acre of that variety of grape called 'Black Hamburg.'"

The produce of a single acre of the same variety of grape during the year 1851 was equally remarkable. The acre in question, Mr. Schmid informed me, contained 1600 vines, viz., 400 in each of the four squares into which it was divided, the pathway round being part of the measured acre. The grapes were sold wholesale to a fruiterer in Sydney, and were forwarded in boxes by the steamboat. The price at which they were sold was three-halfpence per lb.; 120 lbs. being reckoned as the quantity to be delivered for every 100 lbs. paid for. When a considerable portion of the entire produce had been disposed of at this rate, a heavy fall of rain took place, and the remainder of the grapes were made into wine; but as they had been somewhat damaged by the rain, which, it was thought, would injure the quality of the wine, it was all eventually distilled into brandy. The following, therefore, was the general result from the single acre of vines:—

Nett produce of grapes sold wholesale at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb. (120 lbs. being reckoned for 100), after paying expenses of carriage to Sydney, per steamboat, 102*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.*

Quantity of wine made from the remainder of the grapes upwards of 1000 gallons, which, when distilled, produced 100 gallons of brandy.

Mr. Schmid told me, in answer to my inquiries on the

subject, that he had never heard of anything like such an amount of produce from the vine in the South of Germany, and I question whether it has ever been exceeded in any part of the world.

It may be supposed indeed that so large a produce must necessarily be of very inferior quality, but this is not the case; several varieties of the wine produced from Mr. Lang's vineyard, including a sample from the 1800 gallons of 1849, having been very favourably reported on by the Association. The average weight of the produce of each vine of the Schiraz variety, from which Mr. Lang has also made a wine that was much liked by the Association, was 30lbs. This, at the rate of 1600 vines to the acre, would give, as the produce of grapes per acre, $21\frac{3}{4}$ tons!

My brother estimated the cost of trenching, planting, and tending an acre of vineyard at 100*l.* The produce is not realized till the third year, and the wine is unfit for use for two years thereafter. The duty on Australian wine imported into England, which was formerly 5*s.* 6*d.*, is now 2*s.* 6*d.* per gallon.

Although certain of the Australian wines, and particularly Mr. King's of Irrawang, have been decidedly of superior character, and therefore likely to command a ready sale eventually in the European market, they are generally of a light watery character, like the lighter wines of Germany and France; and I am strongly of opinion that this circumstance is destined to have a most important bearing on the moral welfare of the colony. In the case of an emigrant of intemperate habits, the prospect of reformation in New South Wales is generally hopeless: the drunkard will be a drunkard still, and the evil habits he has carried out with him from England will only carry him all the sooner to the grave in his adopted country. But in regard to emigrants of regular habits, and natives of the colony generally, I am decidedly of opinion that the moderate

of a light wine, like those of Australia, will eventually do much more for the cause of temperance in that country than all the Total Abstinence Societies in the land.' It is a highly favourable circumstance for the moral advancement of Australia, that the natives of the country are constitutionally indisposed to intemperance; and colonial wine of the description I have mentioned is much less likely to create the depraved appetite in which the vicious indulgence originates, than the stronger wines of Spain and Portugal, or the still stronger potations of Northern Europe.

The formation of a wine-growing population, however, in a country whose inhabitants have not been previously accustomed to the culture of the vine, is a matter of no small difficulty; and from what had actually taken place in this respect in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, a few of the more respectable colonists, including my brother—whose unsuccessful attempt to introduce a colony of German vinedressers I have already related—were led to believe that the introduction of a number of families from one of the wine-growing districts in the South of Europe, and their settlement in some favourable locality in the colony, would tend more than anything else to form such a population in New South Wales. A few families, both of Portuguese from Madeira, and of Germans from the Rhine, have accordingly been at different times introduced into the colony, and their influence has certainly been in so far favourable. The Cape-colony was originally settled by the Dutch, about the middle of the seventeenth century: as the Dutch, however, are as little acquainted in their own country with the culture of the vine as the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, the earlier colonists at the Cape

7 "No nation is drunken where wine is cheap; and none sober where the dearness of wine substitutes ardent spirits as the common beverage."—*President Jefferson, Memoirs and Correspondence*, iv. 820.

never thought of attempting its cultivation in their new settlement. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, however, a large proportion of the best part of the population of France being self-banished from their native country, in consequence of the tyrannical revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had insured toleration to the Protestants of that kingdom, several of the French Protestant families who had settled in Holland, were induced, at the recommendation of the States General, to emigrate to the Cape of Good Hope; and lands were accordingly granted them in that colony, within a moderate distance of Cape Town, at a place still called from the circumstance *Fransche hoek*, or French corner. The French emigrants introduced the cultivation of the vine into South Africa; and from that circumstance the wine-trade of the Cape colony derives its origin.

Several of the French Protestant families, who thus emigrated for conscience sake to South Africa, were families of distinction in their native land; having voluntarily renounced their country, their property, and their rank, "for the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ." In particular, a family of the name of Du Plessis, the representative of the celebrated Mornay Du Plessis, so famous in the history of the *War of the League*, was among the number of the French emigrants who settled at the Cape. Early in the present century, the representative of that family, and the heir of a dukedom in France, was Mynheer Du Plessis, a respectable old Dutch farmer in South Africa. The late emperor of the French, I mean the first Napoleon, hearing of the circumstance, and being engaged at the time in forming an order of nobility to grace his newly-erected imperial throne, caused it to be signified to General Janssens, who was then the Dutch Governor at the Cape, that if M. Du Plessis would return to France, he would restore him the title and estate of his

family. But the good old colonist was devoid of worldly ambition : he would not leave the country which had afforded an asylum to his persecuted forefathers, and he therefore lived and died as a plain unassuming farmer in South Africa.

The next article of agricultural produce, for the growth of which the soil and climate of New South Wales are admirably adapted, is cotton. After the details I have given in a former part of this work on the subject of cotton cultivation at Moreton Bay, it is only necessary to state that the great national experiment which I was enabled to originate in that locality, without assistance of any kind, and in the face of difficulties and discouragements of a sufficiently formidable character, has been attended with the most unlooked for, the most gratifying, results. From six to seven thousand bales of cotton, the produce almost entirely of British labour, were exported from Queensland during the year 1872, and the plant is still cultivated in that colony with great success. But it somehow never succeeded in New South Wales, although the Local Parliament were induced, at my instance, to grant a *bonus* on its cultivation for three years. I have no doubt, however, that it will eventually prove as successful in New South Wales as it has done in Queensland. The climate, at all events, is equally favourable for its cultivation.

The moral effect which the cultivation of cotton is likely to have on society generally in Australia, as compared with the production of wool, is in the highest degree interesting and important. The average annual produce of a single sheep in New South Wales is 3 lbs. of wool ; and ten acres of native pasture are the average allowance for three sheep. Consequently, 400 acres of land are required for the production of a single bale of wool of 300 lbs., and sheep farming can only be engaged in profitably by large capitalists. But the cultivation of cotton requires no other capital than the labour of the small farmer and his children,

whom he can employ most advantageously for himself in the comparatively light labour of picking the cotton, or collecting the balls from the pods; for the handful of seed required to sow an acre will cost only the merest trifle. Besides, a single acre under cotton will produce as much of that commodity as 400 acres in the article of wool; and, therefore, while the Australian wool-growing population will always be a semi-savage population, thinly scattered over vast tracts of country, and isolated in great measure from the humanizing influences of society, education, and religion, the future Australian cotton-growing population will present the beautiful picture of numerous rural communities, established along the banks of the rivers of Australia, each with its long line of smiling cottages, its village church, and its district school. A lady, whose husband has paid much attention to the cultivation of cotton, and who is quite enthusiastic in the matter herself, has calculated, from the produce actually realized by her husband, that four acres under cotton would maintain a reputable labourer's family; and in allusion to the great staple commodity of the country, which requires a comparatively large capital for its profitable production, she has beautifully and even poetically designated cotton as *the poor man's fleece*. It is not uninteresting, at the present moment, in adverting to the successful introduction of this article of agricultural produce in a neighbouring colony, of which the soil and climate are in no way superior to those of New South Wales for that particular branch of cultivation, to look back for a moment at the origin and commencement of the cotton trade in the United States, which has since attained such gigantic development, a century ago. There was no such prospect for cotton cultivation in America at that period as there is in Australia in the present day. In the subjoined note will be found some interesting extracts from pamphlets by a Mr. Seaborn, an eminent

cotton-planter in the United States, illustrative of the early history of the trade.⁸

⁸ "Origin and Progress of the Cotton Trade in America (from pamphlets by Mr. Seaborn, President of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina).

"In 1770, there were imported of cotton wool into Liverpool as follows:—8 bales from New York; 4 bales from Virginia and Maryland; and 3 barrels full of cotton from North Carolina.

"The first provincial Congress in Carolina, held in January, 1775, recommended the inhabitants to plant cotton, but the recommendation was almost entirely disregarded.

"In 1784, an American ship, which imported 8 bales of cotton into Liverpool, was seized by the custom-house, on the ground that so much cotton could not be the produce of the United States.

"The first bag of cotton wool exported from Charleston to Liverpool arrived 20th January, 1785.

"At the convention at Annapolis, in 1785, Mr. Madison remarked, that from the *garden practice* in Talbot, there was no reason to doubt that the United States would one day become a great cotton-producing country.

"The influence of a manufacturing society established in Philadelphia, in 1787, induced Congress to impose a duty on foreign cottons, *with which the United States were at that time supplied from the West Indies and the Brasils.*

"The quantities of cotton wool exported to Europe from the United States were, in 1785, 14 bags; 1786, 6 bags; 1787, 109 bags; 1788, 359 bags; 1789, 842 bags; 1790, 81 bags.

"In 1792, the growth of cotton in the United States was unknown to Mr. Jay, or that, as a commercial article, it was deemed of little value, is obvious from the fact that in the treaty negotiated by him it was stipulated, 'that no cotton should be imported from America.'

"'Sea Island,' or 'Black Seed' cotton began to be raised in Georgia, in experimental quantities, in 1786. The native place of the seed is believed to be Persia; the seed introduced into America came from the Bahama Islands, where it had been introduced by the Board of Trade from Anguilla.

"The first successful crop of 'long cotton' appears to have been grown by Mr. Elliott on Hilton Head, near Beaufort, in 1790, with 5½ bushels of seed.

"In 1792, many planters on the Sea Islands and continuous mainland *experimented with long cotton.* The cotton culture from this time

I need scarcely add that the apple, the pear, the gooseberry, the currant, the cherry, with all the other fruits, roots, and vegetables of Northern Europe, thrive admirably on the elevated table-lands of New South Wales; while the fig, the peach, the loquat (a Chinese plum, which grows on a highly ornamental tree), the orange, the lemon, the pomegranate, the pine apple, the banana, and the sugar-cane grow luxuriantly on the northern rivers. The cultivation of the olive, in which a highly respectable colonist, the late John Waugh, Esq., formerly a well-known citizen of Edinburgh, took a warm interest, and which he zealously endeavoured to promote in the district in which he resided, will doubtless eventually form a source of remunerating employment to the future colonist of New South Wales, as the soil and climate are remarkably favourable for its growth. Hitherto only a few trees have been grown by some of the more enterprizing colonists; for it is somewhat difficult to induce colonial farmers to grow anything with the cultivation of which they have not been previously acquainted.

progressed rapidly. In all the parishes the practical friends to its extension greatly multiplied. This plant and indigo struggled against each other for the ascendancy.

"In 1798, the opinion prevailed that the supply of cotton would soon exceed the demand. A highly respectable planter of St. John's, Colleton, in looking at his first crop, the produce of a few acres, after it had been housed, exclaimed, 'Well, well, I am done with the cultivation of cotton! Here is enough to make stockings for all the people in America!'

"Wm. Brisbane, of Whitewell plantation, was so successful in 1796, 1797, and 1798, that, from moderate circumstances, he was enabled to retire; he sold his land to Wm. Seabrook, of Edisto Island, at a price held by many to be ruinous to the latter. Mr. Seabrook, *with the proceeds of two crops of plantation, paid the purchase-money in two years.*

"Exports of Sea Island Cotton from the United States in 1805, 8,787,695 lbs.; 1843, 7,515,079 lbs.; decrease, 1,272,580 lbs.

"Total exports, including all sorts, 1805, 40,383,491 lbs.; 1843, 1,056,369,141 lbs.; increase, 1,016,012,650 lbs."

The cultivation of flax has not as yet been attempted in Australia, although I am strongly of opinion that it is destined to form one of the principal exports of the Australian colonies generally. The plant (*linum usitatissimum*), the common flax of Europe, is, as I have already observed, indigenous in New South Wales; and Sir Thomas Mitchell speaks of it as growing in large quantities on the banks of the Darling river, about 700 miles to the westward of Sydney, as also in the south-western portion of Victoria, in both of which places it is used by the aborigines in the manufacture of nets and cordage. The climate of Egypt, where the fine linen of antiquity was manufactured, was much the same as that of the northern portion of New South Wales.

Indigo is also indigenous in Australia, which indicates its peculiar adaptation to the soil and climate; but the number of articles of agricultural produce which an intelligent and industrious population would find it their interest to cultivate in that country is quite incalculable. On asking the eminent German traveller, Dr. Leichhardt, what the northern portion of the colony would grow particularly? he replied that I ought rather to have asked him what it would *not* grow? as, from what he had seen, he thought it would grow everything—common English potatoes, for instance, and pine apples; cabbages and sugar-cane; turnips and bananas. Incredible as it may seem, I have myself seen these singular combinations of heterogeneous productions in that region—all growing harmoniously at the same time, in the same garden, and each selecting for itself the proper season to come to maturity.

If a numerous and industrious agricultural population were settled in New South Wales, there are many productions of the South of Europe, as well as of still warmer climates, of which the cultivation would doubtless afford an ample remuneration for agricultural labour and a comfortable subsistence for industrious families, but of which it

would be folly to attempt the culture with the present limited population of the colony. The caper-plant, for instance, would succeed well in New South Wales. It is cultivated successfully in the South of France ; and President Jefferson, in a few cursory Notes on that country, written during a tour to the North of Italy, gives the following account of the method and of the profitableness of its cultivation :— “Capers are planted eight feet apart. A bush yields, one year with another, two pounds, worth twelve sous a pound; every plant then yields twenty-four sous, equal to one shilling sterling. An acre, containing 676 plants, would yield 33*l.* 16*s.* sterling. The fruit is gathered by women, who can gather about twelve pounds a day. They begin to gather about the last of June, and continue till about the middle of October.”*

The hop-plant has been cultivated successfully on several farms in the colony, and the quality of the hops is alleged to be much superior to that of those imported from England. Of this article of agricultural produce there were exported from New South Wales, in 1872, 264 packages value 230*l.*

Opium could also be cultivated to any extent in New South Wales ; and as the climate is highly congenial to the constitution of the silk-worm and the growth of the mulberry-tree, raw silk could be produced to any conceivable extent. There was a joint-stock company formed in the colony many years ago, for the growth of the mulberry-tree and the production of raw silk, and an establishment was commenced for the purpose on the Parramatta River, a few miles from Sydney : but like many other joint-stock speculations in the colony, it soon fell to the ground ; the competition for labour being generally so great as to indicate that the time for such experiments had scarcely arrived.

* *Memoirs and Correspondence*
p. 130.

President Jefferson, vol. II.

The Sydney market is supplied with fruit chiefly from orchards situated on the banks of the inlet called *the Parramatta River*. For several miles from Sydney, the soil along the course of that river, which is traversed daily to and from Sydney by steamboats, is miserably poor, but the scenery highly picturesque and romantic; the channel ever and anon either widening or narrowing as you advance—sweeping around the base of lofty rocks or suddenly expanding into capacious basins, the shores of which are everywhere ornamented with beautiful shrubbery; for in New South Wales the most interesting plants, shrubs, and trees are uniformly found adorning the poorest soils. About half-way up the river, the soil, especially on the left bank, improves very considerably; and there are various orchards and orangeries close to the water's edge, the proprietors of which make a comfortable livelihood for their families by selling their fruit in the Sydney market. The orange-trees are planted in long double rows, with an avenue between; and the view along the avenue, on each side of which the thick dark green foliage of the trees contrasts beautifully with the bright yellow fruit with which the branches are loaded, can scarcely fail to remind the scholar of the gardens of the Hesperides. Great quantities of this fruit are annually exported to the neighbouring colonies of Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand, in which it cannot be grown. There are settlers of the olden time on the Parramatta River, who had fortunately formed orchards and orangeries on their grounds many years since, without thinking, perhaps, that they would ever come to much, but who are now realizing from their oranges alone incomes of two thousand a year.

The orange-tree takes a comparatively long time to come to maturity: it is rarely found, therefore, on the farms of improvident settlers. The fig and the peach, being of much more rapid growth, abound everywhere; the fruit of the latter being so abundant, as to constitute a

considerable part of the food of the colonial pig in the peach season. Peaches are sold in Sydney market by the basket or bushel, at from fifteen pence to two shillings and sixpence.

If a peach-stone is thrown into the ground in a favourable situation in New South Wales, a large quantity of fruit may be gathered from the tree that shortly afterwards shoots up from it, without any subsequent culture, at the expiration of the third year. A gentleman to whom the colony is much indebted for the zeal which he long evinced in the path of Australian geographical discovery, and of whom I have already made honourable mention—I mean Alan Cunningham, Esq.—was induced, from this circumstance, uniformly to carry along with him a small bag of peach-stones on his exploratory expeditions into the interior; and whenever he found a suitable piece of ground in the great wilderness, to dig it up and plant a few of them in it in the hope that the future trees might one day afford a timely supply of food, either to the wandering native, or to Europeans who might accidentally lose their way in the pathless solitudes of the interior; for the reader is doubtless aware that the native forests of Australia afford nothing whatever in the shape of fruit for the sustenance of man. I was much struck with the circumstance, when it was first mentioned to me many years ago by Mr. Cunningham; and while I could not help commending, from my heart, the pure and disinterested benevolence it evinced, I could not help inwardly regarding it as a lesson to myself for the future, and a reproof for the past. Alas! how many spots have we all passed unheeded in the wilderness of life, in which we might easily have sown good seed if we had so chosen, and left it to the blessing of God, the dew of heaven, and the native energies of the soil! Such spots we may never revisit; and the opportunity of doing good, which was thus afforded us, but which

was suffered to pass unimproved, will consequently never return.

I have mentioned some of the articles enumerated above, chiefly to show how easily, and in how endless a variety of ways, industrious people may not only earn a comfortable subsistence, but gather around them many of the luxuries of life, and perhaps accumulate a considerable fortune in the genial climate of New South Wales.

But there is one other article of agricultural produce, of transcendent importance to the colony, that still remains to be noticed, and of the origin and history of which I must give some account—I mean the cultivation of the sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar. In the year 1838, I happened, in the discharge of clerical duty, to visit the romantic but secluded district of Brisbane Water, at the mouth of the Hawkesbury River, on the north side of Broken Bay. During my stay I called at the house of a respectable settler of the name of Scott, whom I had joined in matrimony many years before to his Australian wife, and whose eldest daughter was, at the period of my visit, eleven or twelve years of age. They had a neat cottage and a small extent of rich alluvial land on one of the picturesque inlets of that singularly beautiful locality; and as the cultivation of onions had been found to succeed better in that part of the territory than in most others, Mr. Scott had $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres under this crop, which he told me "would yield at the rate of 12 tons per acre, which would sell on the ground at 10*l.* per ton. The same ground," he added, "will also produce 80 bushels of Indian corn per acre, merely requiring the putting of the seed into the ground, after the onions have been gathered; and a thousand water-melons can be grown among the corn." Mrs. Scott and her eldest daughter had performed the whole of the labour of weeding the onions, in addition to all the work of the house. The onions and corn crop would not

require more than about five months for both. As the situation was finely sheltered from the hot north-west winds, clumps of bananas were growing luxuriantly with great promise of fruit ; and as Mr. Scott had spent the earlier part of his life in the West Indies and the Southern States of America, in which the cultivation of the sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar was the principal branch of industry, he was strongly of opinion from his own experience and observation, and especially from a successful trial that had been made under his own direction at Port Macquarie, during the government of Sir Thomas Brisbane, that the cultivation of the sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar were peculiarly suited to the soil and climate of the colony, and would not fail to prove successful in New South Wales.

From this period Mr. Scott devoted himself to this particular object with characteristic energy and perseverance; writing a whole series, I may say hundreds, of letters on the subject in the public press of the colony—recommending the cultivation of the sugar-cane as an important branch of colonial industry, and describing the various processes of its growth and manufacture. In the meantime, to substantiate his assertions, and to give full proof of their correctness, Mr. Scott formed a plantation of a few acres of sugar-cane on his own property at Brisbane Water, and eventually exhibited fair samples of colonial-grown sugar from his own plantation.

It was long, however, before he could get any person to listen to him, or to give him the slightest credit for his success; but he continued, notwithstanding, to write letters and papers on his favourite subject from time to time, and to expend his own limited means in conducting experiments on the cultivation of the cane and the manufacture of sugar for not less than thirty years, and upwards.

At length, first one and then another

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candid person was satisfied that Mr. Scott had been in the right all the while: and this impression becoming general, the cultivation of the sugar-cane became so also in the various localities, both in New South Wales and in Queensland, that were suited for the purpose; Mr. Scott being recognized by all disinterested persons as the veritable and undoubted apostle of sugar-growing in both of these colonies.

The progress of this branch of colonial industry, both in New South Wales and in Queensland, has been most remarkable; and it is now quite certain that the native product will very soon be sufficient to supply all the Australian colonies, and New Zealand as well, with this most important article of domestic consumption, and thereby to render quite unnecessary for the future all the present supplies from beyond seas.

Besides the very large quantity consumed in the colony, there was exported from New South Wales, in the year 1872, 40,035 cwt. of unrefined sugar, valued at 60,576*l.* There was also exported, during the same period, 30,773 cwt. of refined sugar, valued at 59,305*l.* But how much of this refined sugar was manufactured from colonial, and not from imported sugar, cannot be ascertained; for the sugar-refining companies of the colony have hitherto been in the way of receiving their supplies of the raw material chiefly from Manilla and the Mauritius.

It has not as yet been definitively ascertained how far south the sugar-cane can be grown with safety in New South Wales. It has come to maturity, and produced at the very high rate of four tons to the acre at Kiama, in lat. 34° 39' S., about sixty miles to the southward of Sydney. There can be no doubt, therefore, that it can be grown on all the rivers to the northward; but as it will be liable on most of these rivers to visitations of frost, the complete success of the cultivation of the cane and the manufacture of sugar in certain of these localities is as yet problematical. At

present the Northern or Clarence River District is the headquarters of this branch of industry in New South Wales; for, although there are frosts on the rivers of that district, they are much milder than on the rivers farther south.

There is an important circumstance in the climatology of Australia, in connexion with this particular question, to which attention has perhaps never hitherto been directed. Most people suppose that the equator, or imaginary line separating the northern and southern hemispheres, is the line of greatest heat on the surface of the globe. But this idea is quite unfounded, the line of greatest heat being coincident with the equator only at two points in the whole circuit of the globe; viz. the points at which it crosses it. For three-fourths of the circumference of the globe, the course of this line is entirely in the northern hemisphere, crossing into that hemisphere from the southward at Singapore, rising gradually as it travels westward as high as the 12th degree of north latitude, which it reaches in North America, and then pursuing a south-westerly course till it crosses the equator into the southern hemisphere in the Pacific Ocean. Its highest southern ascension is the 7th degree of south latitude, which it reaches half way between the point at which it crosses the equator in the Pacific Ocean and Singapore;¹ and it is a remarkable fact that this meridian of greatest heat in the southern hemisphere is coincident with the easternmost point of the Australian land. All places, therefore, on the east coast of Australia have a considerably higher temperature than their mere latitude or distance from the equator would otherwise imply; and this not only accounts for the peculiar mildness of the Australian winter, but affords the heat that is necessary to bring to maturity, at a comparatively high latitude on the Australian coast, all manner of tropical vegetation.

¹ These are the deductions of Baron Humboldt and Sir David Brewster on the isothermal lines on the surface of the earth.

To return for one moment to Mr. Scott—having thus been brought into contact with that very meritorious colonist in the way I have mentioned, long before the question of the cultivation of the sugar-cane had been mooted in the colony, I was one of the earliest to sympathize with him in his self-denying and praiseworthy efforts, and to recognize his merits as a public benefactor. I therefore moved for a Select Committee, in the last Parliament of which I was a member in the colony, to take into consideration the claims of Mr. Scott, and to recommend that a grant of a thousand pounds should be made to him from the Public Treasury, in consideration of his long-continued and valuable services in connexion with the introduction of the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and the manufacture of sugar in New South Wales. The Committee was granted, and its members were fully satisfied of the justice and propriety of the proposal. But as the Parliament was dissolved shortly thereafter, the matter had to be deferred till a future session. I ascertained, however, before leaving the colony on my present voyage, that the Honourable the Premier was favourably inclined to the proposal. I trust, therefore, although somewhat doubtful on the subject, that Mr. Scott's most valuable services have ere this time been considered and rewarded. Mr. Scott is now ninety-five years of age, and still walks about without even a staff, and still writes a beautiful hand.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND WERE TRICKED OUT OF THEIR NOBLE INHERITANCE IN THE WASTE LANDS OF AUSTRALIA BY COLONIAL SQUATTERDOM, BACKED UP BY IMPERIAL IGNORANCE AND FOLLY.

"Ye have taken away my gods which I made, and the priest, and ye are gone away : and what have I more ? and what is this that ye say unto me, What aileth thee ?"—Judges xviii. 24.

"Blessed be the Lord, my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight."—Psalm cxliv. 1.

"THE heroic work of colonization," as it was happily designated by Lord Bacon, consists in transferring the surplus population and capital of the mother country to some suitable colonial field. It is the planting of a germ which may grow up in due time into a great Christian nation. Now, that New South Wales is a suitable field for the planting of such a germ—that it is eminently so in comparison with most of the other colonies of the British Empire—no person who knows anything either of its physical character or of its material resources, as developed in the preceding pages of this work, can possibly deny; and it is equally undeniable that there has never been a period in the history either of the mother country or of the colonies in which the "heroic work" is more useful, on the largest possible scale, than it is now.

Previous to the year 1831, it had been the practice of the Imperial Government to "heroic work of colonization" in New S

which then included Victoria and Queensland, by giving free grants of land, with other indulgences, to emigrants of suitable character and qualifications; but in that year this practice was discontinued, at the instance of a school of colonial reformers, headed by the late Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who recommended, and succeeded in getting adopted and established, the practice of selling the Waste Lands of the colonies by public auction, at not less than a certain minimum price, and devoting the proceeds to the work of colonization, by sending out suitable labourers to the colonial field.

That minimum price was at first fixed at five shillings an acre; afterwards at twelve shillings; and subsequently, under the Australian Land Sales Act of 1842, at a pound an acre, at which rate it remains to the present day. By that Act it was further provided that at least one half of the whole amount accruing from the progressive sales of land in the colony should be appropriated in defraying the cost of the emigration of families and individuals from the United Kingdom, who had not the means of paying their own passage out.

This mode of disposing of the Waste Lands of the Colonies and of appropriating the proceeds of the sale for the promotion of emigration, constitutes what is called the *Wakefield* principle, as contra-distinguished from all other modes of disposing of colonial lands; and I have much pleasure in expressing my belief and conviction that that principle is one of the most important discoveries of modern times, and justly entitles its author to a distinguished place among the benefactors of mankind. Differing as I do pretty widely from Mr. Wakefield on certain important points connected with the Art of Colonization, some of which I have adverted to at considerable length in another work,¹ and differing also as I do from that gentleman in

¹ "The Coming Event; or, Freedom and Independence for the

some of the mere details of his system, as applied to the pastoral colonies of Australia, I deem it an act of justice thus to record my entire approval of all the real essentials of the Wakefield principle, and my unfeigned respect for its author, as one of the greatest benefactors of suffering humanity.

In the year 1835, when the revenue arising from the sale of the Waste Lands of New South Wales had begun to assume an aspect of importance,² I published a series of articles in the "Colonist," a weekly journal which I had established in Sydney at the beginning of that year—demonstrating the transcendent importance of appropriating the whole of that revenue, beyond what might be required for the survey of the land and for the aborigines, for the promotion of emigration to the colony from the United Kingdom; as such an appropriation would not only increase the free population of the colony at a very rapid rate, but raise the moral tone of its society, and speedily obliterate all traces of its convict origin.

This idea—that of appropriating the whole of the Land Revenue for the promotion of immigration—took such hold of the colony at the time that a large public meeting was held in Sydney, under the presidency of the Chief Justice of the period, the late Sir Francis Forbes, for the express purpose of earnestly recommending to the Colonial Legislature to maintain the important principle inviolate, and to urge its adoption upon the Home Government. A Select Committee of the Legislative Council on immigration, of which Sir Francis Forbes was Chairman, was accordingly appointed in that year, and the following was its Report, which I subjoin, in consideration of the great importance of

Seven United Provinces of Australia." Sampson Low and Company, London, 1870.

² That revenue, which had amounted to 44,816*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* in 1834, had risen in 1835 to 89,707*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*

the subject to the mother country, as well as to all the Australian colonies:—

"The first immigrants were induced to embark their fortunes in this distant colony, under the promise of receiving free grants of land, and in the confidence that the same policy would be continued as the best means of settling the country. If it had since been deemed expedient to sell the lands in lieu of granting them as before, it was considered by the inhabitants merely as the conversion of capital into another form, and they thought that the proceeds of the sale of land should be applied to the same purpose to which the land itself was applied, namely, the encouraging and promoting of immigration. If there were any justice in this argument, it derived additional force from the circumstance that the colony was made the receptacle for the outcasts of the United Kingdom, and was, consequently, loaded with a vast disproportion of immoral people. That the colony had derived many advantages from the transportation of convicts could not be denied, but the system had brought with it a long train of moral evils which could only be counteracted by an extensive introduction of free and virtuous inhabitants, and the only means by which the colony could safely rely for accomplishing this vital object was the revenue arising from the sale of lands. It was for these reasons that the Committee were anxious to record their opinion, as well as that of the whole community, that the funds arising from the sale of lands should be appropriated exclusively to the purpose of introducing a moral and industrious population—that they consider this appropriation alike indispensable to the present interests and future prospects and character of the colony—and that they regard the opinion formerly expressed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on this subject, and approved by the Lords of the Treasury, in the light of a pledge by Her Majesty's Government that the Crown Lands should be held sacred to the promotion of immigration."

And so thoroughly did the Imperial Government of the day sympathize with these views and feelings, and so strongly did they hold and maintain the principle in question, that when a letter was addressed by the Board of the Treasury to the Colonial Office, of date 13th August, 1838, "expressing a hope that the whole of the Land Revenue will not have been appropriated exclusively to the purposes of

emigration, unless it shall have been ascertained that the produce of the other branches of the revenue will be such as to render it unnecessary to apply any portion of the Land Fund to the Ordinary Expenditure of the Colonial Government," Lord Glenelg, then Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, observed, in his letter to Sir George Gipps, transmitting a copy of this Treasury Minute, of date Downing Street, 28th August, 1838: "*It must be distinctly understood that it is only in the event of a deficiency in other branches of the Revenue, in providing for the Ordinary Expenditure of your Government, that Her Majesty's Government can sanction any portion of the Land Fund being diverted from the purposes of Emigration.*"

In the meantime, as the Land Revenue was rapidly increasing in amount and importance, a distinct Department was created by the Imperial Government, under functionaries designated "Emigration and Land Commissioners," for the superintendence and management of emigration generally to the Colonies. Under these functionaries the Australian Land Fund was appropriated for the promotion of the emigration of reputable families and individuals of the various mechanical employments required from time to time in the Colony, as also of unmarried females having relations to protect them in the emigrant ships, of farm labourers and shepherds.

In this way there was a vast amount of emigration effected to the colony of a most valuable description, at the sole cost of the Land Fund of New South Wales during the next twenty years; there having been imported on one occasion during that period upwards of twenty-five thousand emigrants, whose passage out was paid exclusively from that Fund, in eighteen months. There were, doubtless, great abuses allowed to prevail in the Immigration Department through the neglect and mismanagement of the Local Government, during the administration of Sir George

Gipps, of which I have detailed the particulars in their proper place; but the aspect and character of the colony were, notwithstanding, wonderfully improved, and, as convict immigration had in the meantime been discontinued in the year 1840, there was no further cause of grievance from that source.

But a fatal change was unfortunately effected in this admirable system—so beneficial alike to the mother country and the colonies—through colonial cupidity on the one hand, and imperial ignorance and folly on the other. And I have no hesitation in stating it as my decided opinion, that that change was owing entirely to the influence and efforts of the late Mr. Wentworth. I have already had occasion to observe that during the greater part, if not the whole period of Sir Charles Fitzroy's administration, Mr. Wentworth was the virtual dictator of the colony. We have lately (Tuesday, 26th May, 1873), been giving that gentleman's remains, which had been brought out from England by his own desire for interment in the colony, a public funeral; and I have no desire to dispute his title to the honour, of which, indeed, I cordially approved. But as a distinguished Frenchman once said, when requested at a great public meeting in the south of France to express his sentiments respecting the first Napoleon, shortly after his death in St. Helena, "When I think of all the good Napoleon did for France, I cannot speak ill of him; but when I think of all the evil he did to France, I cannot speak well of him;" so would I say of Mr. Wentworth, "When I think of all the good service he rendered to New South Wales, I cannot speak ill of him; but when I think of all the evil he has done to the colony, I cannot speak well of him."

In the year 1813, Mr. Wentworth, along with two other colonists of the olden time, long since deceased, performed the memorable feat of crossing the Blue Mountains, which

till then had been deemed impassable, and thereby threw open to the colonists, in a time of peculiar emergency, the vast extent of fertile country beyond them. He published an account of the colony, which served materially to bring it into notice in the old world at a comparatively early period of its existence, and he also published a Prize Poem of great merit, entitled "Australia," when a student at one of the English Universities. His efforts for the establishment of Trial by Jury and of Free Institutions for the Colony were energetic, long-continued, and ultimately successful, and he was the Founder of the Sydney University. But by one fatal act—an act of alleged patriotism, in which, in an evil hour, the Imperial Government unhappily concurred—he has done incalculable evil to the colony, and thrown it back in the march of improvement perhaps half a century.

At the time when the land-selling system of Mr. Wakefield superseded the previous system of free grants, a solemn pledge was given by the Imperial authorities that the funds arising from that source should be appropriated for the promotion of emigration, and they had been so appropriated accordingly from the year 1831; the change effected by the Australian Land Sales Act of 1842 consisting merely in declaring that at least one half of the proceeds of the land sales should be appropriated in that way.

But no sooner did Mr. Wentworth acquire the virtual management of the State than a series of efforts was made at his instance by the Legislature of the colony, to obtain the complete command, not only of all the waste land of the territory, but of all the revenue arising from its progressive sale. On the assembling of the Legislative Council of 1851, Mr. Wentworth obtained a Committee to prepare a remonstrance against the Constitution Act of 1850, which had then just arrived in the coⁿne of the principal grievances which that remo^mitted was the

retention of the whole power over the waste lands and land revenue of the colony in the hands of the Imperial Government. That grievance, or rather the claim founded on it, was as follows :—

2. "That the revenue arising from the public lands, derived as it was wholly from the value imparted to those lands by the labour and capital of the people of this colony, was as much their property as the ordinary revenue, and ought, therefore, to be subject only to the control and appropriation of the Colonial Legislature."

Earl Grey's reply to this remonstrance of the Legislative Council was received in the colony in July, 1852; and I subjoin that portion of it which relates to the claim of the Council to the entire control of the waste land, and the land-revenue of the colony, in which, I am happy to state, I entirely concur with his Lordship.

"With regard to the administration of the waste lands, it was his duty not to withhold the expression of his decided dissent from the doctrine that the waste lands of New South Wales, or the revenue derived from them, were, in any reasonable sense, the exclusive property of the inhabitants, or that their representatives ought to have, as of right, the control and disposal of that revenue. The waste lands of the vast colonial possessions of the British Empire were held by the Crown as trustee for the inhabitants of that empire at large, and not for the inhabitants of the particular provinces divided by arbitrary geographical limits in which any such waste lands might happen to be situated. Otherwise, this consequence would follow, that the first inhabitants of any of those vast provinces, if possessing those representative institutions which arose, as of right, in ordinary British colonies, would be indefeasibly entitled to the administration of all the lands and land revenue of the great unexplored tract called a province, of which they occupied the extremity, wholly without regard to the interests of the nation, which had founded the settlement, perhaps at great expense, in order to serve as a home for their own emigrants, and as a market for their own industry. When and on what conditions it might be desirable to transfer the control of the waste lands of a colony to the local legislature was, in his belief, a question of expediency and not of right

—of expediency respecting both to the local community and to the people of the empire at large, whose claims required joint consideration and mutual adjustment. But while such were his views, as to the right under which the revenue was administered, he willingly acknowledged that it was the essential duty of those who administered it to regard, in a special manner, the interests of those who had established themselves on the spot, and whose purchases afforded the fund to be so disposed of, and he believed that this object was in a high degree attainable by the existing arrangement."

I have always maintained, during the whole course of my Parliamentary life—from the 1st of August, 1843, when I first entered the Legislature of the colony, till the close of the year 1870, when I voluntarily ceased to occupy a seat in our local Parliament—precisely as Earl Grey does in this passage, viz. that the waste lands of the colonies are not the property of their actual inhabitants, but of the whole people of the British Empire, and that they ought to be administered by, and for them, exclusively. I confess, indeed, I uniformly stood alone in giving expression to such sentiments, but I never hesitated to do so notwithstanding, on all suitable occasions.³ The waste lands of

³ The following passage from a very able pamphlet, entitled "Bush Essays," by Capricornus, published in Edinburgh, by Adam and Charles Black, in 1872, bears testimony to my uniform efforts in the Parliament of New South Wales, in favour of the principle that the waste lands of Australia were the property of the people of England, and not of the actual colonists of any of the Australian colonies. I have no idea who the writer is, but he is evidently a highly intelligent person, and has in all likelihood been a resident in Queensland.

"The point may here with propriety be raised—For what purpose was the Crown title of the waste lands handed over to the colonies by the Imperial Government? Were the lands to be held in trust for the purposes of colonization? or were they handed over merely as assets to be managed for the profit of the one million of people then in Australia? Every candid mind must admit the first supposition to be the only just one, but this is a view of the matter by no means approved by the colonists, and the different Govern-

the colonies I have always regarded as an invaluable possession of the British people, to be administered, if we had only had men of common sense and common honesty to manage them, for the benefit of myriads of the British people. But, I am sorry to say, they are so no longer. They have been recklessly thrown away by titled fools and madmen; and the people of England, and especially her virtuous poor, are now the sufferers.

Besides the remonstrance of the Legislative Council, already referred to, a petition to the Queen and Parliament was agreed to by the House, on the motion of Mr. Wentworth, in 1851, of which the following was one of the clauses :—

"In order that Her Majesty's confidential advisers might have no excuse for the continuance of these abuses, the Council unhesitatingly declares that they were prepared, on the surrender to the Colonial Legislature of the entire management of all the revenues, territorial as well as general, and on the establishment of a Constitution among the colonies similar in its outlines to that of Canada, to assume and provide for the whole cost of the internal government of the colony, whether civil or military, and to enact an adequate Civil List during the life of Her Majesty, and for five years after Her Majesty's demise, instead of the sums appropriated in the Schedule to the Imperial Act, 13 & 14 Vict."

That is, for the paltry amount of the Civil List of the new Constitution Act of 1850—62,500*l.* a year—the British Government were modestly asked to sign away to the Legislature of New South Wales the whole territorial revenue arising in all time coming from the noble

ments have invariably acted as if the main purpose for which the lands were held was to raise money to be spent among their constituents. Only one member of a Colonial Assembly has, to the writer's knowledge, maintained the contrary principle consistently. He who held this honourable position was the Rev. Dr. Lang, of Sydney."—"Bush Essays," by Capricornus, page 43. Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh, 1872.

possession and inheritance of the British people in the waste lands of Australia. And the British Government, represented as it was at the time in the Colonial Office by Sir John Pakington and the late Duke of Newcastle, assented at once to this modest proposal, and did the deed of folly and madness that virtually disinherited myriads of the people of England, apparently without consideration and without compunction. For Earl Grey, having retired from office early in the year 1852, and being succeeded by the Duke of Newcastle, as Principal, and Sir John Pakington, as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Sir John replied, as follows, to the Petition and Remonstrance of the Council of New South Wales :—

"Coinciding with Earl Grey that *the transference of the control of the lands to the Local Legislature was a question of expediency and not of right*, he had arrived, after full consideration, at the conclusion that, under the new and rapidly-changing circumstances of New South Wales, the time had come at which it was his duty to advise Her Majesty that the administration of these lands should be transferred to the Colonial Legislature, after the changes in the Constitution had been effected which were adverted to in the Petition."

Sir John Pakington's despatch was accompanied by one from the Duke of Newcastle, confirming "the promise that as soon as a New Constitution had been passed by the Legislature of the Province, and had received the approval of Her Majesty, the disposal of the waste lands, and the appropriation of the fund accruing from their sale and management, would be placed, without reserve, under the supervision and control of the Legislative authority of the colony."

The grand turning-point in the history of the Australian colonies was the advent of Responsible Government, and the establishment of popular institutions in the year 1856. A draft constitution had been drawn up by the Legislative

Council of New South Wales, in the year 1853,⁴ which was approved of and enacted by the Imperial Parliament in 1855; the colony granting Her Majesty a Civil List, and Her Majesty conceding in lieu of it to the Colonial Legislature all the *droits* of the Crown, and in particular all the waste lands of the colonial territory, in absolute and perpetual possession. Now, I have no hesitation in stating—as one of the Representatives of the people in the Legislature of New South Wales for upwards of a quarter of a century—that if the rights and interests of Great Britain, as a great colonizing power, had been taken into consideration in the proper quarter on that most important occasion, a very different arrangement and one of transcendent importance to the mother country might have been effected with perfect facility. The importance of emigration, both to the mother country and to all the Australian colonies, had then been so long and so extensively acknowledged, that if the Secretary of State for the time being, whose bounden duty it was to have duly considered the rights and interests of both parties in the case, had merely insisted on attaching to the Imperial Act a proviso to the effect that one half of the funds accruing from the sales of all waste lands in the colony should be appropriated, for a certain period at least, to the promotion of emigration from the United Kingdom, the arrangement would have been most cordially acceded to by a very large majority of the colonists of New South Wales.

As one of the main objects of colonization is to provide an eligible outlet for the redundant population of the mother country, it might indeed have been taken for granted that Great Britain would never have denuded herself of the power which the possession of the waste lands of Australia

⁴ I happened to be in England at the time, and had, consequently, no share in its authorship.

had justly and legitimately placed in her hands, without providing for the carrying out of this great object. At the General Election in New South Wales in the year 1851, several of the candidates put forth the idea, which very soon became the policy of the Government and Legislature, that, as the discovery of gold would send out plenty of emigrants to the colony, no part of the Land Fund ought in future to be appropriated for immigration purposes. But Great Britain had a deep interest in preventing the possibility of any such policy being enacted. She had a deep interest, on behalf of her industrious and virtuous poor, in insisting upon the continuance of the arrangement, for the appropriation of at least one half of the Land Fund for the promotion of emigration from the United Kingdom.

To revert to the despatches of the Duke of Newcastle and Sir John Pakington in reply to the proposal of Mr. Wentworth and the Legislative Council of New South Wales—the pacton that was thus concluded between Mr. Wentworth and the Colonial Legislature on the one hand, and the Duke of Newcastle and Sir John Pakington on the other, was finally ratified and confirmed by the Imperial Parliament in the Act 18 and 19 Vict. Chapter 54, which was passed on the 16th July, 1855. The two clauses embodying the arrangement are as follows:—

“Clause II. The entire management and control of the waste lands belonging to the Crown in the said colony, and also the appropriation of the gross proceeds of the sales of any such lands, and of all other proceeds and revenues of the same, from whatever source arising within the said colony, including all royalties, mines, and minerals, shall be vested in the Legislature of the said colony.

“Clause L. The said several sums mentioned in Schedules A, B and C, shall be accepted and taken by Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, by way of Civil List, instead of all territorial, casual, and other revenues of the Crown (including all royalties), from whatever source arising within the said colony, and to the disposal of which the Crown may be entitled, either absolutely or conditionally, or otherwise howsoever.

"The three Schedules above referred to are as follow :—

SCHEDULE A.

Salaries of Public Offices . . . £20,550

SCHEDULE B.

Pensions chargeable . . . £13,950

SCHEDULE C. (in process of extinction since 1862).

Public Worship £28,000."

For the paltry amount, therefore, of 62,500*l.* a year, as a Civil List to Her Majesty for the payment of the salaries of the Civil Officers of the colony, the control of the waste lands of the colony of New South Wales and of all the revenue to accrue from them in all future time was bartered away by the Duke of Newcastle and Sir John Pakington, in the paction which the Act in question merely confirmed. Lord John Russell was then Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies ; but his Lordship had no alternative in the matter, and could only ratify and confirm the bargain which his predecessors in office had made.

To enable the reader to understand the real nature of the change which this fatal measure was destined to effect, it will be desirable to contrast the amounts which the colony of New South Wales actually contributed for the promotion of emigration from the United Kingdom to Australia during certain periods of her past history with what she is contributing now. From the reports, therefore, of George F. Wise, Esq., Agent for Immigration in New South Wales, it appears that during the nineteen years that had elapsed from 1838 to 31st December, 1851, when Victoria had just become a separate colony, New South Wales had contributed from her Land Fund for the promotion of emigration from the mother country to Australia the sum of 900,329*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and that during the eight years that elapsed from that period till the 31st December, 1859, when Queensland was also separated from New South Wales, the same colony had contributed towards the same object

996,726*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*, and that during the ten years that followed the separation of Queensland, her contribution towards the same object had been 200,112*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.*

During the eight years that preceded the separation of Queensland, the annual contribution of New South Wales for the promotion of immigration to her territory, was, therefore, 120,840*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*, but during the ten years that succeeded that event, her annual contribution towards the same object was only 20,111*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* The change, therefore, that had been effected under the Imperial Act, although not immediate, was very speedy in its operation; and I can testify from my own personal knowledge that, during the whole of these ten years, the Ministry for Lands in the Colony was in the hands of functionaries who, although of different political parties, agreed so thoroughly with the Wentworth policy, that they were altogether opposed to the voting of any amount whatever for the promotion of immigration; and it was only through a sort of compromise that a vote was given at all for that object—in the very questionable form, too, of assisted immigration, of which I shall have occasion to speak presently.

Such, then, was the splendid patrimony which the people of England have unhappily lost through the act and deed of their own Government, or rather, I should say, of titled fools and madmen, in whose incapable hands their best interests had been unfortunately placed. I have experienced much obloquy myself in the Colonial Parliament in advocating the rights of the people of England in this matter of the waste lands all along, but I uniformly stood alone in doing so for twenty-five years past.

It is quite impossible to calculate the amount of evil that this fatal measure has entailed both upon the mother country and upon all the three colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland; for it affected them all equally. The imperial authorities had had sufficient

warning as to what would be the line of action of the Colonial Legislators, as soon as they should obtain the coveted power over the waste lands of the colony: for, at the instance of Mr. Wentworth, the Select Committee of that year, adopting the Report of the Legislative Council of 1850, had actually declared that *it was no part of the duty of the colonists to pay for the importation of emigrants.* The following extract of a letter from Earl Grey to Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy, then Governor of New South Wales, of date, "Downing Street, 27th May, 1851," embodies the resolution of the Legislative Council of that colony on the subject, and places the matter in its full and proper light before the reader:—

"I have received your Despatch of the 31st December last, forwarding an Address from the Legislative Council of New South Wales to the Queen, setting forth the amount expended on immigration from the Land Fund since the year 1836, and the debt incurred upon it for the same object, setting forth the advantages derived from that outlay to the mother country, and urging that *it is no part of the duty of the colonists to pay for the importation of emigrants.*"—
"Council Paper."

This allegation of the Legislative Council of 1850 virtually embodied the three following propositions:—

1st. That the waste lands of the colony were as much the property of the colonists as their own goods and chattels.

2nd. That the past expenditure of any portion of the funds derived from the sale of these lands on emigration from the mother country was a positive grievance to the colony, and a misappropriation of its funds; and,

3rd. That it was the mother country that derived the exclusive benefits accruing from such emigration.

In short, the squatters, who then ruled the colony, under the leadership of Mr. Wentworth, in virtue of an electoral system which I have shown above was characterized by

downright chicanery and fraud, had no desire for the settlement of the country with a numerous, industrious, and virtuous population from the United Kingdom. They desired to have it reserved exclusively for their sheep and cattle.

Knowing all this, therefore, as they either did, or ought to have done, when the monstrous claim and assumption I have detailed, and Earl Grey's patriotic response to it were then of so recent a date, I maintain that it was a flagrant dereliction of duty, and something even like a virtual betrayal of trust, on the part of Sir John Pakington, whom I consider the principal offender in the case, and His Grace the late Duke of Newcastle, to ignore all this, and to throw the splendid inheritance of the people of England—the whole continent of Australia, I may say—into the hands of these selfish and designing men. Had the Imperial authorities of that period only reserved for the mother country the control of the expenditure even of one half of the Land Fund, for the promotion of emigration from the United Kingdom, which they could certainly have done, at the time in question, with perfect facility, what a splendid result would have been realized! The population of New South Wales, instead of being only very little above half a million, would now, I have no doubt whatever, have been upwards of a million, while, instead of the contemptibly small amount, and the paltry character of the actual immigration we have had for twenty years past, we should have had hundreds and thousands of families and individuals from the mother country, of a superior character, and with ample means to enable them to effect a settlement in their adopted country.

I have always maintained, as the result of my own experience and observation, that the only sure way to settle a country like Australia, is to offer the intending emigrant a *bonus*, in land, equivalent in value, at least, to the

cost of his passage out. The prospect of possessing a piece of land one can call his own, is the powerful magnet for attracting the intending emigrant to any country beyond seas, otherwise fitted for his habitation. It was my earnest desire and endeavour to get that principle recognized and established in New South Wales, in connexion with the settlement of a large body of thorough Protestant emigrants in Moreton Bay, which was then a part of that colony, that induced me to make a series of efforts in the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, which issued in the settlement of about six hundred thorough Protestants in what is now the colony of Queensland. I had spent these three years in England, lecturing all over the United Kingdom, on the advantages of emigration to Australia; sending out three ships with these emigrants to Moreton Bay, now Queensland, and as many in other three ships to Port Phillip, now Victoria. I had had no pecuniary assistance from the Government, either Imperial or Colonial; and I had expended of my own proper funds, in bringing the undertaking to a successful issue, not less than five thousand pounds, which is still represented by a mortgage on my remaining property. For this peculiar service to my adopted country I was virtually treated as a criminal by the Squatterdom of the Legislative Council of 1850, after their utmost efforts to exclude me from the Council had proved unsuccessful, while the principle I had endeavoured to establish was sternly repudiated. But in ten years thereafter, when Queensland had been separated from New South Wales by the Imperial Parliament, the principle I had thus advocated was established as the law of the land by the first Parliament of the new colony—with what results I shall now show.

At the period of its separation from New South Wales, on the 10th of December, 1859, the population of Queensland was 25,146; but, through the land system, established

by the first Parliament of the colony, which guaranteed a bonus of thirty acres of land to every emigrant who had paid his own passage out, or had it paid for him by others, the population of the colony had more than quadrupled itself before the close of the first decade of its existence; for, in December, 1869, it amounted to 107,000.

Precisely the same result followed the adoption of the same principle in the colony of New Zealand. For, in a despatch from Earl Granville to Sir George Bowen, the late Governor of that colony, we are informed that whereas the population of New Zealand, in 1857, was only 49,800, it had amounted, in 1867, to 227,810; that is, considerably more than quadruple its amount at the commencement of the decennial period. The attraction, in both cases, was the land; the terms offered to the emigrant in New Zealand being still more liberal than in Queensland; for, instead of thirty acres, as in that colony, the *bonus* in New Zealand was forty acres per head.

In New South Wales, on the contrary—a country, with at least twenty times the resources of Queensland, at the period of its separation, and with an unlimited extent of waste land, available for the promotion of immigration, but in which there was no *bonus* in land held out to the emigrant—the increase of the population from immigration, during the same decennial period, was only 34,817; that is, only about a tenth part of its population at the commencement of that period. And of that increase, 16,623 persons consisted of what were called assisted immigrants; that is, persons whose relations in the colony had paid about a third of their passage-money for them, the rest being supplied by the Government.

The total number of immigrants who arrived in New South Wales, under the regulations for assisted immigration, during the decennial period extending from 1860 to 1870, was as follows, viz.:—



From England and Wales	3,225
Scotland	1,061
Ireland	12,219
Other countries	118
	—
	16,623

Their religion,—

Protestants of all denominations	6,301
Roman Catholics	10,296
Other persuasions	26
	—
	16,623

Besides, while the immigration into Queensland and New Zealand comprised a very large number of persons and families of respectable standing in society, who, for years in succession, introduced into Queensland, in particular (and, I believe, the same thing took place in New Zealand), an amount of British capital, of not less than twenty thousand pounds sterling a month, or nearly a quarter of a million sterling per annum—a circumstance that sufficiently accounts for the rapid development of the sister colony, and the successful formation of a whole series of vigorous and promising settlements to the northward—the great bulk of the immigrants into New South Wales, during the decennial period indicated above, were of a semi-pauper class, who, instead of coming out to develope the resources of the colony with their imported capital and labour, like the immigrants into Queensland and New Zealand, came out chiefly as candidates for employment in the police force, or as turnkeys and warders in gaols, or as mere messengers and menial servants in every Government department in the colony. And being chiefly Roman Catholics, of the humbler classes, from Ireland, they came out also to subject us and our institutions to the domination of certain ultramontane zealots, whose main

object is to transform our noble colony into a mere province of the Popedom.

Reverting to the mere amount of our immigration, and without reference to its character for the ten years, extending from 1860, inclusive, had New South Wales only made the same progress in the "heroic work of colonization," and afforded a corresponding amount of relief to the mother country, as Queensland and New Zealand did during the ten years in question, her population would now have been not less than 1,346,288, while the immigration into her territory would have amounted to not less than 70,000 a year.

It will surely not be alleged that either Queensland or New Zealand was a more eligible or more promising field for emigration from the mother country, twelve or fifteen years since, than New South Wales. Our climate is unquestionably more congenial to the constitution of Englishmen than that of Queensland, especially in the settlements to the northward of Brisbane; and we have had neither Maori wars nor earthquakes to frighten us, as in New Zealand. Why, then, have we, the colonists of New South Wales, fallen so far behind these two younger colonies in the march of improvement—in the "heroic work" of colonization? Why, the humiliating fact is to be ascribed entirely to our having repudiated the principle to which the wonderfully rapid advancement of these colonies was unquestionably due, that of offering a *bonus* in land to the intending emigrant, to induce him to come out to the colonies.

The following is the Decennial Return of the number of Immigrants who arrived in the Colony from the United Kingdom, for ten years, commencing with the year 1863:—

Year.	Immi- grants at the Public Expense.	Immi- grants at their own Expense.	Religion of Immigrants at the Public Expense.		Native Country of Immigrants.		
			Protes- tants.	R. Catho- lica.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1863	4,633	1,003	1,879	2,754	1,028	295	3,275
1864	8,977	1,199	1,616	2,354	732	275	2,951
1865	2,717	641	974	1,732	495	155	2,041
1866	1,204	648	869	830	190	64	937
1867	944	1,235	302	642	123	57	759
1868	470	753	187	282	99	41	324
1869	47	—	—	—	—	—	—
1870	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1871	357	755	281	76	259	10	75
1872	326	516	261	65	240	7	9
			5,869	8,735	3,166	904	10,371

Statistical Register of New South Wales for 1872.

This Return would certainly be peculiarly discreditable to New South Wales, were it not capable of the easiest explanation, in the fact that the colony has for twenty years past been unfortunately deprived by iniquitous legislation of the grand source of population which it would otherwise have had in its waste lands. Compared with the time when the immigration under Imperial management amounted to upwards of twenty-five thousand in eighteen months, that is more than thirty years ago, it would seem that for ten years past—I may rather say twenty—the colony has been going down in the world, as far as immigration and its position in the eye of the general public are concerned. It was formerly, as I believe it is still beyond all comparison, the first of the Australian colonies; it has now, it would seem, lost its prestige in public opinion, and has actually sunk, in the estimation of people in the old country, to the third place in the group; Victoria, and even Queensland, having got before it in the race, and taken up its proper position. Every person who has anything to say on the subject is quite sensible of this state of things; but,

strangely enough, nobody seems to be aware of its cause. The following is an extract of a letter on the subject to the author, by an old respected colonist, Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., of date, London, 2nd October, 1869 :—

"In looking at the condition and prospects of New South Wales from a distance (but with an interest that has suffered no diminution in consequence of absence), I see much that I most deeply regret. Without caring much about the conflict of parties, or the ascendancy of any particular class of men or politicians in the Government, I cannot close my eyes to the fact that the increase of the population of the colony, from immigration from Europe, during the last few years, is one that is scarcely appreciable. Up to within the last ten years, the population of New South Wales went on increasing *steadily and progressively*, with infinite advantage, as we all know, to the individual emigrant, and to the community with which he became ingrafted. Why a system so calculated to promote the happiness and well-being of all should have fallen into abeyance I know not."

The Registrar-General also speaks to the same effect, as follows, in his preface to the Census of 1871 :—

"Although the addition of 43·64 per cent. to our population in the decade must be a welcome fact, it should be noted not only that the rate of increase has not been maintained during the last few years, but that there has been a very noticeable retrograde movement in the progress of our population."

It is perfectly amazing, however, how men of the highest intelligence in every other respect have failed to recognize the real cause of this unnatural and long-continued depression of the colony, in the matter in question, and are ever and anon suggesting for a remedy everything but the right one. It was, doubtless, natural for the Hon. John Robertson to suppose that his famous Free Selection Act would attract multitudes of people to the colony, although I gave it as my opinion in Parliament at the time, which he has since found to be perfectly correct, that it would do nothing of the sort. The Hon. John Bowie Wilson, who alternated with Robertson for several years as Minister for Lands,

the last decade, had an equally valueless Holloway's pill of his own, in maintaining that all that was necessary in the case was to reduce the minimum price of land to five shillings an acre. Mr. Parkes' (the present Premier) specific was to send fit and proper persons to England as lecturers on the colony, with plenty of papers and pamphlets about it to circulate everywhere.*

Accordingly, in the Session of 1861, Mr. Parkes moved in the Legislative Assembly, on the 2nd of May, of that year, "that this House will, on Friday next, resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, to consider of an Address to the Administrator of the Government (the Right Honourable Sir John Young), praying that His Excellency will be pleased to place upon a Supplementary Estimate for the present year a sum of money not exceeding 5000*l.*, to establish Emigration Agencies and Lectureships in Great Britain and Ireland; such money to be expended as near as may be in the following manner:—2000*l.* for salaries for twelve months of two Lecturers and General Agents, 1000*l.* for travelling expenses for such Lecturers, 500*l.* for Shipping Agencies in principal ports, 1500*l.* for printing in cheap and popular form copies of Land Acts and other trustworthy information relating to this colony." This motion having been passed by a large majority, Mr. Parkes and Mr. Dalley, two of our very ablest men, were deputed by the Government of the

* Mr. Parkes does not seem to have lost faith in the virtue of the pamphlet specific even yet. A Mr. Charles Robinson had, at the instance of the Local Government, written an able pamphlet, entitled, "New South Wales, the oldest and richest of the Australian Colonies," which was printed in Sydney at the public expense during the past year, and of which Mr. Parkes had caused 100,000 (a hundred thousand) copies to be forwarded to the Agent-General in England, for circulation throughout the United Kingdom. I have learnt incidentally that these pamphlets, which nobody seems to care for in England; are piled up in tens of thousands of copies, like unsaleable goods, in the Agent-General's office in Westminster.

day to proceed to England as lecturers on the colony, as an eligible field for emigration, and did so accordingly.

There was much—everything, indeed—expected from this movement, not only by the lecturers themselves, but by the Government and the public; all classes of persons throughout the colony confidently anticipating as its certain result a speedy and extensive immigration from all parts of the United Kingdom into New South Wales. But I felt assured from the first, although I happened to be in England at the time, that the effort would prove, as it did eventually, an utter failure ; for, with all the imposing apparatus provided for them by Act of the Provincial Parliament, the mission of these gentlemen did not issue in sending out a single emigrant to the colony.⁶ There was no blame attachable in the case to the lecturers. They were the ablest and best men that could have been selected for their mission, and they doubtless discharged their duty ably and well; but, like the Children of Israel in Egypt, they were sent to make bricks without straw; for all they had, in addition to their own eloquent and graphic descriptions of the country, to induce thousands and tens of thousands of the people of the United Kingdom to come out to New South Wales, was a gratuitous distribution of certain printed copies of Mr. Robertson's Free Selection and Land Acts !

It was long, however, before either the Parliament or the public could be brought to admit the possibility of failure in the great effort they had thus made. On the 23 July, 1862, after a speech in which I showed that there was something else needed to induce an extensive emigration from the mother country to this colony than the provisions of the Lands Acts of 1861, and the mission of

⁶ It is alleged, indeed, that there was one emigrant as the result of this expensive mission, but it is disputed.

Parkes and Dalley to England, I moved, in the Legislative Assembly,—

- “ 1. That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient and necessary that additional facilities, besides those implied in the Lands Acts, should be afforded for the promotion of the immigration into this colony of reputable and industrious families and individuals from the mother country and the continent of Europe.
- “ 2. That it should, therefore, be enacted that every immigrant, whether male or female, of from fourteen to fifty years of age, arriving in the colony direct from Europe, or the person or persons paying his or her passage, should receive, on his or her arrival, or be held entitled to, twenty acres of any such land as may be open at the time for free selection under the Lands Acts, as a free gift, and to other ten acres at the end of two years thereafter, if he or she should then be resident in the colony; and that half that extent, or ten and five acres respectively, should be allowed for each child of from one to fourteen years of age; provided that immigrants arriving in the colony with five or more children shall not be excluded from participating in this arrangement, although upwards of fifty years of age.”

But this motion was negatived by fifteen to ten; the House being of opinion that they had done all that was requisite in the matter by appointing the mission of the previous year. But both the Parliament and the public were at length constrained to acknowledge that the mission of Messrs. Parkes and Dalley had entirely failed.

What, then, has been the grand secret of the failure of

New South Wales as well as of the remarkable success of the other two neighbouring colonies I have mentioned above? Why, it has been entirely the land and immigration system of that colony, as compared with that of Queensland and New Zealand. For, while the colonists of New South Wales have been relying on their superior climate, their vast extent of eligible waste land, and their excellent Free Selection Legislation, these two colonies have, in accordance with the practice of other highly intelligent communities, and particularly that of the United States, been holding out to the intending emigrant a tangible *bonus* in the shape of a free grant of land. This, I maintain, has been the powerful magnet, in connexion with not a little salutary trumpeting and puffing at home, that has proved so attractive in the case of these two colonies, while New South Wales has been left "alone in her glory," and nobody at home has ever been making the slightest inquiry about her.

To bring this matter to a conclusion: *Ever since the fatal concession by the Imperial Parliament, at the instance of Sir John Pakington and the late Duke of Newcastle, of all control over the waste lands of New South Wales, to the Local Legislature—a mere clique of squatters, at the time the paction was made, under the leadership of Mr. Wentworth—the colony has been suffering under the curse of squatterdom to the present day.* From that period, immigration at the expense of the Land Fund virtually ceased; and the Fund itself, having thenceforth been regarded as part of the ordinary revenue of the colony, has been expended on everything but its proper object, immigration.

Had the control of the waste lands remained in the hands of the Imperial Government, to the extent even of one-half of the Land Fund, or, in other words, had Mr. Wentworth and his squatter majority kept their larcenous hands off the property of the nation; or if Sir John Pakington and the

late Duke of Newcastle had done their duty to their country, as Earl Grey did so shortly before, in refusing to hand over to a mere handful of squatters the noble inheritance of the people of England in the waste lands of Australia,—what a splendid possession would have been secured for all classes of the people of England, and especially for the humble poor, for nearly twenty years past! Had the same *bonus* been held out to the emigrant to New South Wales, as was done in Queensland and New Zealand, the progress of the colony would have been rapid and extensive, almost beyond conception. Thousands of reputable families, with ample means to enable them to form comfortable homes for their households, would have emigrated from the United Kingdom, and settled in all parts of the territory; carrying out with them numerous families of domestic servants, labourers, and shepherds, for whose passage out they would have received a sufficient payment in land, while the trade of the colony would have doubled its present amount long ere now.

Only consider what such a state of things would have realized during the present year. When spending a few days on clerical duty in Wagga-Wagga (the Claimant's country), 315 miles south-west of Sydney, in December last, Mr. Baylis, the Police Magistrate of Wagga-Wagga, informed me that there were actually applications in the Land Office of the district, for the purchase of 800,000 (eight hundred thousand) acres of land, at the minimum price of a pound an acre, in Riverina alone, that is the tract of country lying between the Murrumbidgee and the Murray Rivers; one gentleman from Victoria having applied for 50,000 (fifty thousand) acres on his own account, and deposited in the office, agreeably to the regulations, six-pence an acre towards the cost of survey. In accordance with this information, the Hon. J. S. Farnell, the present Colonial Minister for Lands, stated in the Legislative

Assembly, so recently as on the 13th of November, 1873, that "it was expected that in the year 1874, should the surveyors be able to survey sufficient land, not less than a million sterling would be realized from the sales of land."

But of this vast revenue, which belongs of right to the people of England—at least to the extent of one-half—and not to the people, far less to the squatterdom, of New South Wales, the whole amount that was voted for immigration for the present year—in the very questionable form, too, of assisted immigration—was the paltry sum of 50,000*l.*, that is only a twentieth part of the anticipated land revenue!

The Hon. Henry Parkes, the present Premier, requested me, before leaving the colony, in April last, to aid the Local Government in their efforts to promote emigration to the colony during my stay in England; and Sir Charles Cowper, the Agent-General of the colony, seconded the expressed wishes of the Premier, on my arrival in London. But I could not consent to identify myself in any way with a system of emigration of which I entirely disapproved; and the failure of Mr. Parkes himself, and his able coadjutor, Mr. Dalley, as lecturers on Australia, in 1861, was by no means encouraging. In the Session of 1868, when Mr. Robertson was Premier, and a sum of 30,000*l.* had been placed upon the estimates for assisted immigration, both Mr. Parkes and I denounced that system so strongly and so successfully in regular speeches on the subject in the Legislative Assembly, that the vote was negatived, and the item withdrawn from the estimates for the two or three following years, as the reader will see from the blanks under these years in the Decennial Return, at page 146. I then denounced the system in question for this reason particularly, that the notorious preponderance of Irish Roman Catholics of a certain class, with which the Assisted Immigration system had been supplying us for years before, in com-

parison with the number of Protestant emigrants from England and Scotland together, was a virtual device for transforming the colony into a mere province of the Popedom. I denounce it still for another and much stronger reason, as being a mere contemptible sham or pretext to conceal from the public the Grand Larcenous procedure of the Legislature of the Colony, in appropriating for their own local objects these nineteen years past the noble inheritance of the people of England in the waste lands of Australia.

CHAPTER V.

AMOUNT, DISTRIBUTION, AND CONDITION OF THE POPULATION OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

"The wealth and strength of a country are its population, and the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil."¹

President Jackson's Message to Congress, December, 1832.

I HAVE already observed that the period comprised in the administration of Sir Thomas Brisbane and Sir Ralph Darling—extending for ten years, from the close of the year 1821 to that of the year 1831—may be designated

¹ Although I am not disposed to acquiesce unreservedly in this *dictum* of the American President, or to admit that the cultivators of the soil are, either intellectually or morally, better than other people, it must be evident that the class of farmers, or cultivators of the soil, are the most valuable portion of the population of a country for the development of its available resources. Squatting, mining, and manufacturing are all of secondary importance in New South Wales, as compared with agriculture. It is precisely, however, in this class of its population that the colony is deficient; for we have hitherto had but two classes in our colonial community—squatters and townspeople. The cause or reason of this is obvious—the pastoral resources of the country have hitherto, in great measure, absorbed the available labour of the colony, while the agriculturist has had no other object in view than the very precarious and comparatively humble one, of growing grain and potatoes for the colonial market. But now that squatting, within the colonial limits, has reached its maximum, while the colonial farmer has superinduced upon his former narrow pursuits of grain and potato-growing, those of vine-growing, tobacco-planting, sugar-growing, &c., the class he belongs to will henceforth occupy a much more prominent and important position in the country, and will approve itself, in an economical sense, by far the most valuable portion of the population.

in the language of Geology, the Eocene period of the Transition formation of New South Wales; during which the colony was first slowly, and afterwards rapidly passing from the condition of a mere penal settlement, into that of a colony of freemen. The free emigration of this period, although of large amount, as compared with the whole previous emigration from the commencement of the colony, was still small in comparison with that of the two succeeding periods.

The period of the administration of Sir Richard Bourke, which extended over six years, from the close of the year 1831 to that of the year 1837, may be regarded as the Miocene period of the Transition formation; a great change having taken place at the commencement of this period in the mode of disposing of the waste lands of the colony, through the adoption of the Wakefield system of selling the waste lands of the colonies, and devoting the proceeds for the promotion of emigration, instead of granting them away gratuitously as before. I have already observed that one of the principal errors of the administration of Sir Richard Bourke was his not rendering available for the moral welfare and advancement of the colony the means which the Land Fund—a branch of colonial revenue, which came into existence under that system during his administration—had unexpectedly placed in his hands, by organizing suitable and efficient machinery for ensuring the expenditure of this fund in the way most advantageous to the colony, and to the fullest extent practicable. I recollect that, in conversing with His Excellency on the subject, and recommending that the Government should take the measure up in earnest, Sir Richard observed, that if Government took up the subject of emigration, it would be sure to become a job; and no doubt it did become a notorious job eventually—as I have shown in the proper place. But this was in great measure the fault of Sir Richard Bourke himself;

arising either from his want of foresight, or from sheer indifference and neglect, in making no provision whatever for the transcendently important exigency that had arisen during his administration. For while the land revenue, during the six years of the administration of Sir Richard Bourke, amounted to 439,652*l. 4s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.*, the total amount of free immigration during that period did not exceed 12,881 souls, consisting of 6546 free emigrants, who had been brought out at the public expense, and 6335 who had defrayed the cost of their emigration themselves. At the census taken in the year 1836, the entire population amounted to 77,096, of whom two-fifths still consisted of the prison population of the colony.

During this period, also, the proportion of the sexes continued to be very unfavourable to the social and moral welfare of the colony, notwithstanding the attempt to increase the female portion of the population by emigration from the mother country. The disproportion of the sexes, throughout the colony was scarcely affected by the free immigration of the Miocene period; the proportion of females to every hundred males of the entire population being, in the year 1836, only thirty-nine.

The Pliocene period commenced with the administration of Sir George Gipps, at the commencement of the year 1838, and may be considered to have extended to the commencement of the Golden Age of the colony in 1851. Convict immigration having in the meantime ceased, in the year 1840, a prodigious change for the better took place in the population of the colony during this period, in the two important respects to which I have just alluded—first in the proportion of free and bond, and secondly, in that of males and females.

During the nineteen years that had elapsed from the commencement of immigration at the public expense, the total number of emigrants of both sexes and of all ages

who had arrived in the colony—which then included the district of Port Phillip—at the public expense, up to the 31st December, 1850, was 89,251; while the number of immigrants who had arrived during the same period, paying their own passage out, was 27,008; making a general total of 116,259. Now as the entire population of the colony, on the 31st December, 1850, was 265,503, only a very small proportion of that population could either be convict or of convict origin. For besides the large increase that must have taken place among the 116,259 free immigrants of the nineteen years ending on the 31st December, 1850, to be added for that class of the population, there was the free population of 36,251, of the year 1833, with all their increase from that period; while there was the important circumstance to be taken into account that transportation had ceased more than ten years previous to the 31st December, 1850, and the still more important circumstance that the disproportion of the sexes of an earlier period was almost exclusively confined to the convict class; the proportion of female to male convicts, from the original settlement of the colony till the cessation of transportation to New South Wales in the year 1840, having been only as 17 to 100! Of necessity, therefore, a large proportion of the male convicts, from the first settlement of the colony, died off from time to time and left no progeny; the whole population down to a comparatively late period, notwithstanding all the increase during the interval, not having exceeded the number of persons of all classes who had been landed in the colony from England!

The total population of New South Wales—exclusive of Port Phillip, which commenced its separate existence as the colony of Victoria, on the 1st of July, 1851, with a population of 78,260—on the 1st of March, of that year, was 187,243: of whom 106,229 were males, and 81,014 females. But the disproportion of the sexes which this

census still exhibited was confined chiefly to the squatting districts, or the vast wilderness of the interior, where the population consisted chiefly of stockmen and shepherds, with their flocks and herds; the proportion of the sexes at that period in the settled districts being 87,010 males, and 72,536 females, while in the squatting districts it was 19,219 males, and only 8478 females.²

The convict element, I may add, has long since completely disappeared from the face of society in New South Wales.

The thoroughly British origin of the population of New South Wales will appear from the following statement of the countries in which the inhabitants of the colony, of all classes, were born respectively :—

All countries	503,981
British :—	
New South Wales	294,244
Victoria	6,897
Tasmania	2,992
South Australia	2,637
Western Australia	145
Queensland	2,118
New Zealand	1,057
Aborigines	983
Total Australasia	308,673

² "The total population of New South Wales, on the 2nd April, 1871, exclusive of roving aborigines, was 503,981 persons, consisting of 275,551 males, and 228,430 females. The numbers on the 7th April, 1861, were 350,860 persons, consisting of 198,488 males, and 152,372 females."

"The addition to our population in the period which has expired since the census of 1861 is therefore 153,121 persons, or 43·64 per cent., the males having increased by 77,063, or 38·82 per cent., and the females by 76,058, or 49·91 per cent."—Report of the Registrar-General on the Census of New South Wales for the year 1871.

England	87,834
Wales	1,870
Scotland	20,041
Ireland	62,948
British Possessions	1,979
 Total British	 482,840
Foreign :—	
United States	1,340
France	891
Germany	6,623
China	7,220
Islands in South Pacific	815
Other Foreign Countries	2,862
Born at Sea	1,424
Unspecified	466

The following are the occupations in which the male adult portion of this population are engaged respectively :—

Total	503,981
Religion, Ministers of	505
Law	589
Medical	644
Literature, arts, and sciences	4,123
Government service	3,472
Trade and commerce	11,538
Production and distribution of food, &c.	8,480
Agriculture	43,805
Grazing	17,835
Horticulture	2,984
Wine-growing	246
Sugar-growing	59
Mining in gold	16,261
,, in other metals	118

The estimated population on the 31st December, 1872, was, according to the same officer, 539,190.

"Of the total population of New South Wales in 1871, there were 234,162 persons in towns or villages, 267,417 in the rural parts, and 2,402 on board the ships, boats, barges, and in the ports, harbours, or other waters of the colony."—*Ibid.*

Mining in coal	2,150
Skilled workers	24,011
Unskilled do.	19,030
Domestic servants	22,730
Sea-faring	4,520
Persons engaged in house-work and children .	199,523
Of independent means	3,081
Occupations not stated	5,614
Scholars under tuition	92,878
Miscellaneous occupations	15,510
In asylums and gaols, &c.	4,273

The following is a classification of the inhabitants of the colony, as to religion :—

All Persuasions	503,981
Protestants :—	
Episcopalians	229,243
Presbyterians	49,122
Wesleyan Methodists	36,275
Other Methodists	3,291
Congregationalists	9,253
Baptists	4,151
Unitarians	849
Other Protestants	4,659
Protestants undescribed	2,549
Total Protestants	<u>339,392</u>
Roman Catholics	145,932
Catholics undescribed	1,695
Total Catholics	<u>147,627</u>
Hebrews	2,395
Other Persuasions	1,166
Unspecified Persuasions	5,946
Pagans	7,455

The following is a classification of the inhabitants of the colony, as to education :—

Education :—

Persons who can read and write

Persons who can read only

Persons who cannot read

In Appendix V. will be found a Return from the Statistical Register of 1872, showing the number of manufactories, works, &c., in the colony in that year.

The following is a return of the mills for grinding and dressing grain, in the colony of New South Wales for the year 1872 :—

Steam mills	159
Water "	13
Wind "	6
Horse "	10
	—
	188

The following is a return of the products of the under-mentioned manufactories for the year 1872 :—

Woollens manufactured . . .	201,260 yards.
Soap and candles . . .	Soap 80,732 cwt.; candles 13,824
Refined sugar	134,380 cwt.
Tobacco	8,580 ,,

The population of New South Wales is partly concentrated in towns, and partly dispersed over the whole extent of the colonial territory. The latter portion of the population, until the discovery of gold in 1851 rendered gold-mining a regular branch of colonial industry, was employed almost exclusively in the pursuits of agriculture and grazing; the former, exclusive of the military and the officers and clerks connected with the public service, in commerce, trade and manufactures, in the practice of the various mechanical arts, in the liberal professions, and in the other occupations peculiar to a town life as indicated in the *census*.

The capital of the colony, and the seat of the colonial government, is the city of Sydney, which contains, within the corporate boundaries, by the census of 1871, a population of 74,423 souls.

On my arrival in the colony, the first time, in the month of May, 1823, the estimated population of Sydney was 7,000; and the following view of its subsequent pro-

gress, which the Registrar-General has given from each census taken since 1828, five years later, will, doubtless, not be uninteresting to the general reader :—

Estimated population of Sydney in 1823	7,000
By census of 1828	10,815
" 1833	16,232
" 1836	19,729
" 1841	29,973
" 1846	38,358
" 1851	44,240
" 1856	53,358
" 1861	56,394
" 1871	74,423

But as the suburbs, which are really a part of the city, contain an additional population of 60,324, the population of the colonial capital may be taken at 134,747.

The city of Sydney is beautifully situated on Sydney Cove, one of the numerous and romantic inlets of Port Jackson, about seven miles from the entrance of the harbour. The heads of Port Jackson, or the headlands at the mouth of the harbour, constitute one of the grandest and most interesting features in the natural scenery of the country. To a person approaching the land from the eastward, the coast presents an apparently unbroken line of lofty, precipitous sandstone cliffs, along the base of which the big waves of the vast Pacific Ocean dash fearfully when the wind blows strongly from the south-eastward ; causing dense volumes of spray and whitish vapour to ascend to the summits of the highest cliffs all along the coast. The entrance is designated, at a considerable distance at sea, by the light-house, or Macquarie tower—a circular building of cut stone, surmounted by a lantern with a revolving light, situated on the South Head ; but no opening of any kind can be perceived till you come close in with the land. At a small distance from the Heads, however, an opening is at length perceived in the jutting coast ; and the idea you

naturally form of it is, that the cliffs on either side have been violently rent asunder by some mighty convulsion of nature, to afford a passage for vessels into some place of security :—

“ Hinc atque hinc vastæ rupes, geminique minantur
In cœlum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late
Æquora tuta silent.”—VIRG.

High on the right and left, tremendous rocks
Tower upwards to the heavens, beneath whose cliffs
The sea sleeps placidly.

The entrance at the Heads is about a mile and three quarters wide ; but the height of the cliffs and the idea of boundlessness which the ocean scenery has previously impressed upon the mind make it appear much narrower. On getting round Middle Head, a point of land stretching out from the northern side of the harbour, and completely concealing the opening from the eye of an observer at a few miles' distance at sea, the scene surpasses description. You immediately find yourself on the bosom of a large lake, extending to a great distance in a westerly direction, with innumerable coves or inlets stretching inland to the right and left ; some presenting sandy beaches and grassy lawns ; others lined with a barrier of grey rocks cast in the most fantastic moulds, and surmounted in all directions with outlandish but most beautiful shrubbery.

Many of the best localities on the shores of Port Jackson, between Sydney and the Heads, are in the hands of private proprietors ; and the richly and endlessly diversified beauties of nature, which they uniformly exhibit, are in some instances enhanced by the manner in which they appear contrasted with the tasteful habitations of men. Several neat cottages have been erected by the pilots of Sydney, on a sandy beach immediately behind the South Head, called Watson's Bay. On the opposite side of the harbour, an inlet leading to the northward conducts to Spring Cove,

which is now the quarantine station, immediately behind the North Head. A little nearer the city is the mansion of Vaucluse, the residence of the late W. C. Wentworth, Esq., whom I have mentioned particularly in other parts of this work ; and somewhat nearer still is the handsome villa of Woollahra, the property of Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., for some time Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the colony, but now resident in England. In the olden time it was for many years the residence of the late Captain Piper, then Naval Officer of the colony. On Woolloomoolloo Hill, an elevated projection of the land, situated between Woolloomoolloo and Elizabeth Bays, about a mile from Sydney on the south side of the harbour, a whole series of handsome villas have been erected, chiefly of cut stone, the view of which from the water is highly interesting and enlivening : and on the opposite side of the harbour, or what is called the North Shore, handsome cottages have also been erected, in many commanding situations, besides wharfs and stores belonging to merchants in Sydney.

The poet Campbell speaks of "the long isles of Sydney Cove;" but there happen to be no isles of any kind in that particular inlet. The only islands in the harbour are Sharks' Island, a small island near Vaucluse, towards the Heads; Clarke's Island, opposite Darling Point, about half way up the harbour towards Sydney: Garden Island, a highly picturesque and beautiful wooded island, at the entrance of Woolloomoolloo Bay; and Cockatoo Island, a few miles farther up the harbour, to the westward of the city, on which a dry dock for shipping, capable of admitting the largest vessels, has been constructed by [redacted] during the last twenty years.

There was a remarkable rock or islet, he from time immemorial had occupied a prominent position in the harbour, in the approach to Sydney, al from the city, and which formed a striking

field of view from all the surrounding heights; consisting as it did of a vast mass of grey weather-beaten rock, rising perpendicularly in a slender column to an elevation of seventy-five feet from the deep water. It was known by the name of Pinchgut, from having been the place of temporary banishment for some evildoer, shortly after the original settlement of the colony, who had been condemned to live on it for a certain number of days, on very reduced rations. This natural ornament of the harbour, however, which no art could have equalled, this remarkable work of God, which had stood, like a sentinel keeping watch upon the harbour for thousands of years, was at length destroyed by the folly of man; some official Goth or Hun, who must surely have had the organ of destructiveness largely developed, having persuaded the Local Government of the day to quarry down the rock nearly to the water's edge, with the view of its being converted into a battery, forsooth, for the protection of the harbour. The work of destruction accordingly commenced, and proceeded apace till this fine object in the field of vision for miles and miles around in every direction was for ever destroyed, and the romantic islet at length replaced for ten or twelve years thereafter by the unsightliness of an abandoned quarry. For, as usually happened with Government works, under the beautiful colonial system of the past, the idea of having a fort on Pinchgut Island was given up, after a large expenditure had been incurred in the work of destruction, perhaps from feelings of compunction on the part of its authors, if not in consequence of some unfavourable opinion respecting the proposed erection from the Ordnance Department in London; and huge piles of rough stone, heaped up in all possible forms of irregularity and confusion, were for many years thereafter the befitting monument of this precious piece of official Vandalism.

Being naturally desirous to ascertain the real fact in thi

Pinchgut affair, as a matter of some interest in Colonial history—the work of destruction having taken place during one of my visits to England—I inquired at several of the Government offices in Sydney, before leaving the colony on my present visit, as to who it was who had perpetrated the work of destruction on Pinchgut Island, and was told in them all that it was Sir William Denison. It was, doubtless, Sir William Denison who carried out the idea of the original perpetrators of the outrage, by erecting the present gingerbread fortification on the island, and calling it Fort Denison. But I should be sorry to impute to Sir William Denison the work of destruction, which, I subsequently learnt from a memorandum of my own, had been done ten or twelve years before his arrival in the colony; and the only persons to whom I can now refer it with confidence, are the late Colonel Barney, then at the head of the Works' Department in Sydney, and his superior officer, the late Sir George Gipps, who had both been officers of Engineers in the same corps in England, and who, in the case in question, as the only functionaries at the time who had power to do such a thing, perpetrated a deed of downright Vandalism, to which the only parallel I can find in modern history is that of the Communists of Paris, in pulling down the famous triumphal column in the Place Vendôme, in their noble city. I can never pass the island even yet without feeling indignant at the heartless deed which, unlike that of the Communists, can never be remedied.

Ever since the famous panic about a French invasion of England, under the redoubtable Prince de Joinville, in the year 1847, the Local Government of New South Wales seem to have been subject to a sort of tertian ague or regular intermittent fever about the "defences of Port Jackson;" and ever and anon, when the fit was on them, whole series of mawkish resolutions were passed by the Executive Council, and transmitted to the Right Honour-

able the Secretary of State, previous to the era of Responsible Government, about some "predatory attack," of which it seems we are perpetually in danger from those pirates and robbers of the dark ages, the modern French and Russians, and Germans and Americans! I suspect the destruction of the Pinchgut column, with a view to the erection of a battery, was only one of the symptoms of this malady.

The following is an extract from Earl Grey's very proper despatch to Governor Sir Charles Fitzroy (who had transmitted to his Lordship a Minute of the Executive Council on the "Defences of Port Jackson," embodying, of course, a beggarly petition for a grant of money from the British Treasury, to construct the necessary works), of date Downing Street, 21st June, 1850:—

"I have no doubt that prudence does prescribe the erection of works sufficient to protect the city of Sydney from a predatory attack: but the great value of the property it contains, and the wealth and prosperity evinced by the very large sum of money stated to be in the banks, afford proof no less of the ability of the colony to meet the expense of providing such protection, than of the necessity of doing so."

"On this subject, I have to remind you that many of the great commercial cities of this country are even now not less open than Sydney to predatory attacks, while some even of our arsenals and important military stations are as yet but very imperfectly protected; and it is altogether unreasonable to suppose that Parliament could be asked to vote money from the Revenue of the United Kingdom for the defence of Sydney, while there is still a want of similar works at home, more especially as it must be borne in mind how much more lightly the inhabitants of New South Wales are taxed than those of Her Majesty's subjects who remain in this country."

The city of Sydney, which received its name in honour of Lord Viscount Sydney, who first suggested the idea of establishing a colony in New South Wales, and who was Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies at the time when the territory was taken possession of for Great

Britain, was originally confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the cove of the same name, which extends only a short distance inland in a southerly direction from the main harbour. At the entrance of the cove there are two forts on the extremities of the two ridges that form its eastern and western shores; the one called Dawes' Battery, and the other, a sort of gingerbread affair like Fort Denison, called Fort Macquarie. At the head of the cove these ridges attain a considerable elevation; and on their sloping sides and towering summits, as well as in the valley between, the city of Sydney now extends at least two miles from Dawes' Battery to the southward, the ridges gradually subsiding till the ground becomes nearly a dead level. The principal streets run in a northerly and southerly direction, parallel to that of the ridges, and are crossed nearly at right angles by other streets, that terminate in a second and much more extensive cove to the westward, called Cockle Bay or Darling Harbour. In short, there can scarcely be imagined a finer situation for a large mercantile city; and it is deeply to be regretted that so little advantage was taken, in the earlier years of the colony, of its admirable locality, and so little attention evinced in laying down a proper plan for its gradual extension.

It seems indeed as if the Genius of Incapacity had seated himself in the chair of state in Australia from the very first, and extended his baneful influence to everything under the Australian sun. The last of the British colonies in America that was planted previous to the American war, was that of Georgia, which was founded by the celebrated General Oglethorpe in the year 1732, that is, fifty-six years before the next great colonizing effort was made by Great Britain in founding the colony of New South Wales. But while admirable foresight and a singularly correct judgment were evinced by General Oglethorpe in forming

plans of the principal cities of his colony, which have been acted on with incalculable benefit to the inhabitants to the present day—broad streets intersecting each other at right angles, with the carriage way flanked on either side with ornamental and umbrageous trees, and spacious squares disposed at proper intervals all over the city—everything of this kind in the very capital of Australia was left to mere chance and accident; and the result has been that one of the finest sites in the world for a great metropolitan city has in great measure been irrecoverably spoiled, either through the utter want of ordinary foresight on the part of the Imperial Authorities, in not sending out the proper officers for such a work, or in the utter unfitness of those to whom it was entrusted.³

I have already observed, in my account of the administra-

³ The city of Savannah, in Georgia, was planned and founded by General Oglethorpe, in the year 1733, and that of Augusta, a great way up the Savannah River, in 1735. They are both described in the following manner by Mr. Buckingham in his "Slave States of America":—

"The city (Savannah) is laid out with the greatest regularity; the streets running in parallel lines with the river from east to west, and these crossed by others at right angles, running north and south. Philadelphia itself is not more perfect in its symmetry than Savannah; and the latter has this advantage over the former, that there are no less than eighteen large squares, with grass plats and trees, in the very heart of the city, disposed at equal distances from each other in the greatest order; while every principal street is lined on each side with rows of trees; and some of the broadest streets have also an avenue of trees running down their centre. These trees are called *The Pride of India* (*Melia Azedarach*): they give out a beautiful lilac flower in the spring."

"Augusta was first founded in 1735. It was planned by General Oglethorpe, the founder of Savannah; and though at first only intended as an interior station for collecting the peltries or skins with which the settlers were supplied by the Indians, yet it was laid out by him with all the regularity becoming a great city, which he, no doubt, believed it would one day become."

tion of General Darling, that the Scotch mechanics whom I carried out to New South Wales, to erect certain educational buildings in Sydney in the year 1831, had found the town of Sydney a paltry collection of shabby brick houses and wooden sheds, but had speedily created a taste for architecture of a superior character, and afforded, both to the public and to private individuals, the means of indulging it; insomuch that there is now in that city a larger number of public and private buildings of polished stone, than perhaps in any city of a similar amount of population in England. The improvement that has taken place in the architecture of Sydney during the last forty years is indeed wonderful.

Government House occupies a magnificent situation overlooking the harbour, to the eastward of Sydney Cove, and forms a fine object on the left in passing up the harbour to the city. "The main body of the building is 170 feet long, and $40\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. On the east side are situated the ball-room, 50 feet by 28 feet, exclusive of the orchestra; the drawing-room, 40 feet by 28 feet (having also a large recess in a bay window), and the ante-drawing-room 15 feet by 28 feet. This suite of rooms, which communicate by folding-doors, when thrown open, extends 105 feet. The dining-room is a well-proportioned and elegant room, lying transverse to the rooms just described, measuring 45 feet by 26 feet. The whole of these rooms are 26 feet high, and are finished in a superior style."⁴ This building, which was estimated to cost 25,000*l.*, but which, I believe, actually cost greatly more, was commenced in the year 1837, and was occupied for the first time by the late Governor Sir George Gipps, in the year 1845. The plan and elevation were by E. Blore, Esq., architect, London.

The public offices for the service of Government, the places of worship for the different religious denominations

⁴ *New South Wales Magazine* for July, 1843.

in the colonial capital, the banks and other public buildings that have either been recently erected, or are now in course of erection, are all of a much superior character in point of architecture to those of an earlier period.

It is from the daily increasing number, however, and the daily improving character of the various private buildings that have recently been erected or are now erecting everywhere in the city of Sydney, that a proper idea can be formed of the present state and rapid progress of the Australian capital. Wharfs for shipping, of the most substantial structure, warehouses and stores of large dimensions and costly architecture, foundries of iron and brass, manufactoryes of various useful articles, breweries, shops emulating those of Bond Street in the British metropolis, dwelling-houses of every variety of form, public-houses, windmills, steam-mills, &c. &c.; in short, buildings of every kind that may be supposed necessary in a large, commercial sea-port town, are erecting, or have recently been erected, in all parts of Sydney, and not a few of them of cut stone; while the demand for such buildings is daily increasing.

The minimum price of building-ground belonging to Government in the city of Sydney is 1000*l.* per acre; but allotments in eligible localities sell at a much higher price: indeed, as much as 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* and even 30,000*l.* an acre has been obtained for corner allotments in peculiarly eligible situations.⁵

The city of Sydney was lighted with gas for the first

⁵ An allotment of ground at the corner of George and Bridge Streets, Sydney, was sold so long ago as on the 28th February, 1834, for 680*l.* or 18,150*l.* per acre. The Golden corner, at the intersection of George and King Streets, was sold at 55*l.* 10*s.* per foot frontage, or 27,928*l.* per acre. And in the year 1840, a small allotment sold at the rate of 40,000*l.* per acre. Of course there has been no reduction in prices since.

time on the 26th of January, 1842, the anniversary of the founding of the colony; there being a Gas Company for the city, incorporated by Act of Council. Sydney is supplied with fresh water from a very remarkable source. In the tract of sterile country towards the Pacific, between Port Jackson and Botany Bay, about four miles from Sydney, there is a swamp of limited extent, called the Lachlan Swamp, almost completely surrounded by sand-hills. From the centre of this swamp there rises a beautiful stream of limpid water, which finds its way into the sea at Botany Bay, and is there sufficient to turn a mill; and by a tunnel through the intervening hills, constructed by convict labour during the administrations of Sir Ralph Darling and Sir Richard Bourke, the water from this stream is carried into the city, and distributed by iron pipes over all parts of it. The tunnel struck upon various other springs in its course, which serve to augment the supply; but there has occasionally been considerable apprehension entertained by the citizens that the supply from this source may prove insufficient, and various expedients, with which, however, it is unnecessary to trouble the reader, have been proposed for its augmentation; the question, very fortunately for the citizens, being not at all one of practicability, but merely of comparative expense.

It would seem that there had originally been a pretty deep valley behind the sandstone cliffs, two hundred feet high, that line the Pacific due south from Port Jackson to Botany Bay, but that, in the course of numberless ages past, this valley, which opens out into that bay, had been filled with sand, carried up by strong south-easterly gales from the coast to the southward, to the depth of upwards of a hundred feet. The soil thus formed consisting, as it does, of pure sand, gets covered at length with shrubs suited to the soil and climate, and forms a catchment for the rain that falls, to the depth of nearly fifty inches;

annum to the extent of upwards of five thousand acres, including the Lachlan Swamp above-mentioned. For the rain that falls over this large extent of ground sinks at once into the sand, and forms a vast reservoir of the purest water at a great depth below. The Corporation of the city of Sydney have a series of dams at different levels for the storage of the water, as well as deep wells pierced through the sand, from which they pump up the water for the supply of the city by powerful waterworks at Botany Bay. It is a wonderful provision of nature for the supply of the city, unexampled, in so far as I have learnt, in any other part of the world.

The city of Sydney was incorporated by Act of Council in the year 1842, and remained under its original constitution till the year 1853, when, in consequence of great complaints being made of its alleged inefficiency and mismanagement, the Corporation was forthwith dissolved, and three Commissioners, nominated by the Government, were appointed to manage the affairs of the city in its stead. But when it is considered that the City Corporation of Sydney was the first instance in which the inhabitants of New South Wales had ever been entrusted in any way with anything like popular institutions, and, that through the apathy and neglect, not to speak of the gross mismanagement, of the Local Government in former times, the Sydney Corporation, when called into existence, found an amount of work upon its hands perfectly overwhelming, while the funds with which it was entrusted for the performance of that work were ridiculously small—all the proper sources of revenue for a municipality having been previously used up, or otherwise appropriated by, the Local Government—the reader will, doubtless, agree with me in thinking, that no small portion of the blame of inefficiency, if there was any, ought to have been transferred to other shoulders. At all events, the Commissioners having involved the city in enormous

expense for works of very questionable utility, it was found indispensably necessary, in four years thereafter, to re-incorporate the city, with a slight change in its constitution. The city of Sydney is now divided into eight wards, each of which has two Aldermen, who annually elect one of their own number as Mayor, who is styled the Right Worshipful, and usually receives from the funds of the Corporation a salary of 800*l.* or 1000*l.* a year.

There is nothing that more loudly proclaims the very indifferent character of the Government of New South Wales previous to the advent of Responsible Government, than the proportion which the population of the city of Sydney bears to the general population of the colony,—being upwards of one-fourth of the whole population of the colony; * and as the proportion in the case of Melbourne, as compared with the entire province of Victoria, is precisely similar, the circumstance is evidently not to be ascribed to anything peculiar to the older colony, but to some other efficient cause.

This amazing disproportion of the population of the chief cities of New South Wales and Victoria to that of the whole colonies of which they are the capitals respectively, is by no means the result of the discovery of gold, as some have imagined, for it subsisted before the discovery of gold in both colonies, and that discovery has tended rather to disperse than to concentrate the population.

Who ever heard, in any other part of the world, of upwards of one-fourth of the entire population of a country being pent up in the capital of that country—in a country, too, without manufactures for the employment of a concentrated population? When Nehemiah, the Governor of Judah under the King of Persia, had repaired the walls of

* Population of the whole colony, 503,981. Population of Sydney, including suburbs, 134,747.

the city of Jerusalem, which he found almost entirely deserted of its inhabitants from its previously defenceless state, he caused a tenth part of the population of the whole country to be drafted off by lot to form a population of the requisite amount for the capital. Assuming the population of London at three millions, that population is only one-tenth of the general population of Great Britain—precisely the same proportion as in the case of Jerusalem, in the days of Nehemiah,—although London is not only the capital of Great Britain, but the commercial capital of the world; but if the reader will take the trouble to compare the population of the different capitals of Europe with that of the countries of which they form the chief cities, he will find that the proportion of inhabitants in the capital is uniformly and greatly smaller than one-tenth ; and the case is precisely the same in regard to the capitals of the different States of America.⁷ How then does it happen that the population of the cities of Sydney and Melbourne is of so unnatural an amount, and so enormously disproportioned to that of the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, of which they are the respective capitals? To this question I would reply that there are three causes that have operated in producing this extraordinary and unprecedented result.

1. Respectable emigrants, who had arrived from the mother-country, with the wreck, perhaps, of their fortunes, to settle on land in New South Wales or Victoria, were obliged from sheer necessity to take up their abode for a time either in Sydney or Melbourne, till they found unoccupied land in an eligible locality to settle on. But the vexatious delays of the Local Government in putting up

⁷ Mr. Merivale informs us somewhere that there was no city in America, previous to the War of Independence, with a population greater than 25,000, although the country had then been colonized for a hundred and fifty years. This might suggest another difficult question.

land for sale; the miserable driblets in which it was actually put up when sales were ordered, *that a ruinous competition might be created among the purchasers, to fill the Government Treasury*; and the enormous prices which the land sold realized under this preposterous system—all this, conjoined with heavy rents and expensive living in the colonial capitals, very frequently stripped the unfortunate emigrant of all his available funds, and compelled him most reluctantly to take up his residence for good in these colonial cities, and to embark in some branch of business which he would otherwise never have thought of to gain an honest livelihood for his family.

2. There are numerous townships in which allotments were sold at a reasonable rate by the Local Government, all over the colony, with a view to promote the formation of small towns in the interior; but if an industrious tradesman or mechanic happened to set himself down with his family in one or other of these towns, and got a horse or two, or a few cows or sheep, as it was natural for such a person to do in a pastoral country in which sheep and cattle have till very recently been the chief source of wealth, it was impossible for him to find grass and water for them before Mr. Robertson's *Free Selection Act* came into operation in the year 1861; for the whole country, for miles and miles around, including all the accessible water, was then held under an Act of the Imperial Parliament, granting them fixity of tenure and pre-emption rights, by Mr. A. the squatter, Mr. B. the squatter, and Mr. C. the squatter, who, as I have already observed, had all the same antipathy to a man of comparatively humble standing in society pretending to keep sheep and cattle in New South Wales or Victoria, as the English squire has to a poacher. In short, the Parliamentary legislation for the colonies, being all for the rich and not for the poor, benevolently presumed that if the comparatively poor man had a few head of sheep or cattle

he would be sure to steal from Mr. A., B., or C. to increase his flock or herd, and therefore concluded that it was better not to allow him to have any at all—to *keep* him down when he was down. In such circumstances it will readily be conceived that persons of this class, “having no chance,” as the colonial phrase is, in the small towns of the interior, were driven back upon the cities of Sydney and Melbourne; which were thus left to grow up, as the late William Cobbett used to say with far less truth of London, into enormous wens, while the country was left uninhabited.*

3. As there were no means adopted by the Local Government, when emigration at the public expense had begun to set in, in flood tide, from the mother country, during the latter portion of the administration of Sir Richard Bourke and the earlier portion of that of Sir George Gipps, to ensure a proper selection of emigrants for the colony, in the United Kingdom, hundreds and thousands of families and individuals were carried out at the public expense who were totally unfit for the purposes of the colony, who absolutely refused to go into the interior in any capacity, and who fixed themselves down in the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, earning a precarious livelihood as they could, and pressing in various ways as a serious burden upon the community.

By such unnatural and suicidal proceedings as these on the part of the Local Government up to the era of Responsible Government, the cities of Sydney and Melbourne

* There are hundreds, I may say, thousands of instances in the Australian colonies, of shepherds and stockmen, who had accumulated large amounts in the service of extensive proprietors of sheep and cattle, in the hope of doing something for themselves at last, spending the whole of their hard earnings in one long “bout” of riotous dissipation, simply because there was no chance for them in the country of setting up for themselves! I have even heard squatters congratulate themselves on the circumstance, as it insured them a supply of labour!

were blown up into their actual disproportionate dimensions, as compared with the general population of the two colonies respectively. But as the "vis medicatrix naturæ"⁹ generally insures either a remedy or a compensation in such cases, the cities of Sydney and Melbourne have thus grown up into a formidable political power in their respective provinces, of which the Local Government Committee of Incapables of the olden time never anticipated the existence. For if "Paris is France," although containing only a thirty-fifth part of the general population of that country, *à fortiori* "Sydney," not to speak of Melbourne, "is New South Wales," containing as it does upwards of a fourth of the whole population of the colony concentrated on one point, while the remainder of that population is thinly scattered over a territory as large as all Great Britain and France together.¹

All sorts of mechanical arts and occupations are pursued in Sydney; and shops of all kinds are to be found in almost every street, as in the busiest sea-ports in the mother country. Of the manufactories and other public works enumerated above, a considerable number are carried on in Sydney exclusively, while the roads of the city and colony are traversed in every direction by coaches and vehicles of all other descriptions built in that city. Besides, all the mechanical arts that are in requisition in house-building and in the furnishing of houses, as well as in the building, equipment, and repairing of vessels, are successfully practised in Sydney, and afford a comfortable subsistence to a large

⁹ The healing power of nature.

¹ "The nation is governed by all that has tongue in the nation: Democracy is virtually *there*. Add only that whatever power exists, will have itself, by-and-by, organized; working secretly under bandages, obscurations, obstructions, it will never rest till it gets to work free, unincumbered, visible to all. *Democracy virtually extant will insist on becoming palpably extant.*"—Carlyle, "Hero Worship."

and daily increasing number of industrious and reputable families.

There is a market held twice a week in Sydney, in which all sorts of goods and produce are exposed for sale by settlers, or the servants of settlers from all parts of the interior, as well as by the numerous dealers in the town. The corn and cattle market, for horses, sheep, cattle, pigs, grain, hay, and straw, is held at the southern extremity of the town; the general market is situated somewhat nearer the harbour; and the large and commodious suite of buildings erected by the Scotch mechanics of 1831 for the accommodation of the numerous frequenters of that busy scene not only forms an appropriate appendage to the town, but affords a large annual revenue to the corporation. Grain and dairy produce of all kinds, eggs and poultry of all descriptions, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, apples, pears, peaches, apricots, oranges, lemons, loquats, pineapples, bananas, grapes, figs, cherries, strawberries, native currants, &c., with all the variety of vegetables cultivated in the mother-country, are procurable in their respective seasons in the Sydney market, at reasonable prices and of superior quality. The town of Sydney is supplied with milk from dairies in the town and neighbourhood, and with fish chiefly from Botany Bay. The latter are brought overland a distance of seven miles in carts, and hawked about the streets in wheel-barrows—the cry of “Fish, ho!” uttered in the genuine London style, being one of the standing matin notes of the Australian capital.

There are eight newspapers published in Sydney, besides the *Government Gazette*, which is published twice a week. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Empire*, and *The Evening News*, are all daily papers: *The Town and Country Journal*, *The Mail*, *The Protestant Standard*, *The Freeman's Journal*, and *Bell's Life in Sydney* are each published once a week. There are also various provincial papers in the colony very

respectably conducted, as, for instance, *The Maitland Mercury*, *The Bathurst Free Press*, *The Goulburn Herald*, and *The Yass Courier*. Occasional pamphlets on subjects of local interest are also published in Sydney from time to time; and the black swan of Australia must surely be a tuneful bird, for whole volumes of poetry have already issued from the colonial press.

In regard to the public amusements of Sydney, I have already alluded to the colonial taste for horse-racing, cricketing, and regattas; and it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that a taste of that kind generally implies a taste for gambling and dissipation. For that portion of the community that delights in such amusements, there is also a Theatre Royal in Sydney; but having never been present at any theatrical exhibitions in the colony, I can only presume, from my general knowledge of certain classes of its population, that if there is little reason to consider the theatre as a *school of virtue* in England, there is no reason whatever for regarding it in that light in New South Wales.

To those who are addicted to botanical researches, or to those who, like myself, merely delight to contemplate the wonderful works of God, without being very inquisitive about the genus and species of each, the Botanic Garden and the romantic walks of the Government Domain in the immediate neighbourhood of Sydney cannot fail to afford a never-failing source of far higher gratification. To wander alone on serpentine walks, traced with the utmost taste² along the margin of beautifully romantic bays, and through woodland scenes, untraversed so lately save by the naked savage and the solitary kangaroo;—to behold innumerable shrubs of innumerable species, each of which would grace the

² The principal walks in the Government Domain at Sydney were planned by Mrs. Macquarie, and formed under her immediate superintendence. Various others have been added since, and the gardens generally have been greatly improved.

choicest spots in the garden of a European prince, growing wildly and luxuriantly, and shedding their beautiful flowers unregarded ; to sit on the summit of a gray rock overhanging the silent waters of Port Jackson, while the glorious sun descends behind the distant mountains to the westward, and pours forth a deluge of light on rock, and wood, and water ; —in such scenes, when the poet asks, “*O solitude, WHERE are thy charms ?*” one is almost tempted to reply, “*Here ! here !*”

It is not very creditable, however, to the dwellers in Sydney, that such scenes should have been allowed to remain so entirely sacred to solitude as they have been for the most part till very lately ; but while it is undeniable that the *schoolmaster* will require to be *abroad* somewhat longer, ere the race of Australians can be expected to go anywhere in search of the picturesque, there is another very obvious reason for the comparative desertion of the Government Domain by the inhabitants of Sydney. Every person who can contrive to get anything more than a mere livelihood in the colony, forthwith possesses himself of a horse and *shay* for *pleasuring*, to be transformed in due time into a curricle and pair. Till a comparatively late period, however, the Government Domain was open only to pedestrians, and was consequently no place for the display of equipages. Besides, a road was formed, during Governor Macquarie’s administration, at the expense of the people of Sydney, as far as the light-house on the South Head ; and that road has ever since been the favourite resort of the *beau monde* of the Australian capital. About four o’clock in the afternoon—before dinner in the *haut ton* circles, but some time after it among people of inferior station—all the coach-house doors in Sydney fly open simultaneously, and the company begin to take their places for the afternoon drive on the South Head Road. In half an hour the streets are comparatively deserted ; by far the greater portion of the well-dressed part of the population being already out of town. In the mean

time, the long line of equipages—from the ponderous coach of the nominee Member of Council, moving leisurely and proudly along, or the lively barouche of Mr. Goldfinder, the merchant, to the *one-horse-shay*, in which the landlord of the *Tinkers' Arms* drives out his blowzy dame to take the hair arter dinner—doubles Hyde Park Corner, and arrives on the Corso; while ever and anon some young bachelor merchant or military officer, eager to display his superior skill in horsemanship, dashes briskly forward along the cavalcade at full gallop.

The South Head Road runs along what the colonists would call *the dividing range* between Botany Bay and Port Jackson; and the series of views which it successively presents is as interesting and diversified as can well be imagined. On reaching the highest land on the line, the vast Pacific—the broad highway to England—stretches far and wide in front; while the roar of its breakers, as they dash incessantly on the shores of Bundy Bay, a small inlet to the southward of the Heads, is heard almost under foot. To the right, the noble inlet of Botany Bay, with its white sandy beach and its dark-looking heads—standing erect like two negro sentinels—is seen at a moderate distance, athwart a series of swamps and sand-hills, the picture of absolute sterility. To the left, the harbour of Port Jackson, with its hundred arms, appears like a series of highland lakes, changing their aspect, and assuming more and more interesting forms at every step; while the North Head, now seen towering in solitary grandeur, seems like the ruins of some vast fortress built in the ages of fable, to guard the entrance of the harbour. In the rear, the city of Sydney, covered no longer, as of yore, with a thin transparent clo^ud of whitish smoke, curling slowly upwards from its numerous wood fires, but with a regular blackish cloud from the smoke of Newcastle coal, like that which overshadows English towns, occupies a considerable portion of the

of vision; while the Blue Mountains in the distance stretch along the western horizon, and terminate the view.

The light-house on the South Head is about seven miles from Sydney; but the usual termination of the afternoon's drive is on the summit of a hill called Belle Vue, about four miles from the town; the carriages generally making a circular sweep on the top of the hill, and returning to town in nearly the same order as they left it.

A ride or drive across the sand-hills and barren swamps intervening between Sydney and Botany Bay is now rather a favourite pleasure excursion for the inhabitants of the colonial capital. There is an hotel, called "The Sir Joseph Bankes Hotel," at the Bay, where the grounds, although limited, have been laid out with the utmost taste, and are kept in the highest order for the attraction of visitors from the capital. On certain *gala* occasions, a steamboat is hired to convey a large party round from Sydney by the Pacific Ocean to Botany Bay. The country around the Bay is flat and uninteresting; but there are portions of it by no means unfit for cultivation: the Bay is generally shallow for a great distance from the shore.

The suburbs of Sydney, with their respective amounts of population, are as follows, viz.:—

Balmain, to the westward of Sydney, across an arm of the harbour	6,886
The Glebe	5,721
New Town	6,601
Concord	3,520
Paddington	11,411
Redfern and Botany	12,621
St. Leonard's, on the north shore, on the opposite side of the harbour	5,126
St. George	<u>8,438</u>
Total in the suburbs	60,824

Sydney is the great centre and headquarters of the Steam

Navigation Service of New South Wales. Within the great harbour of Port Jackson there are small steamboats that ply all day at different places between Sydney and St. Leonard's, on the north shore, on the opposite side of the harbour ; between the city and Balmain, one of its principal suburbs ; between Sydney and Parramatta and the intermediate villages, and between Sydney and Manly Beach, a favourite watering-place towards the Heads. There are steamboats of a larger size plying regularly, outside the Heads, between Sydney and Wollongong, Kiama, Shoalhaven, Moruya, Merimbula, and Eden, towns along the coast to the southward ; as also between Sydney and Hunter's River, the Manning River, the Macleay, and the Clarence River, to the northward. With the chief cities also of all the neighbouring colonies there is regular and frequent communication maintained with suitable steam vessels, as, for instance, with Melbourne, Victoria; Hobart Town, Tasmania; Brisbane, Queensland; Adelaide, South Australia; Auckland, New Zealand; and Levuka, in Fiji. But as the great triumph of steam navigation for the colony consists in the establishment of regular mail communication by means of a line of steam-ships between Sydney and London, I shall leave that particular subject for a separate chapter.

In the meantime, the following is the number and tonnage of steam-vessels owned in Sydney, trading to and from the various inland ports and the neighbouring colonies :—

	Number of vessels.	Horse- power.	Tonnage.
Australian Steam Navigation Company.	30	3,517	13,464
Clarence and Richmond River Company	15	864	2,785
Illawarra Steam Navigation Company ..	5	489	1,158
Hunter River New Steam Company ...	4	480	1,832
Parramatta River Company	4	150	500
Bulli Coal Company	2	80	—
Colonial Sugar Company	3	134	—
Tug-boats	13	745	—
Private owned steamers	5	249	—
Passengers and ferry-boats	18	339	—

Sydney is also the centre-point and headquarters of the railway system of New South Wales. There are three great trunk lines of railway in the colony—the Southern, the Western, and the Northern. The Southern and Western lines have their starting point at Sydney, and the Northern at Newcastle. The Southern line has its present terminus at Goulburn, on the route to Melbourne, 134 miles from Sydney; the Western line crosses the Blue Mountains to its present terminus at Raglan, four miles from Bathurst, and 140 from Sydney; and the Northern line passes up the valley of the Hunter, to its present terminus at Murrurundi, 120 miles from Newcastle. There are also two subsidiary lines—from Blacktown, on the Western line, to Windsor and Richmond, on the Hawkesbury River; and from Maitland, on the Northern line, to Morpeth. The number of miles altogether open for traffic, at the end of the year 1872, was 396, being an increase of 52 miles on the previous year. All the three Great Trunk lines are progressing simultaneously and rapidly; the amount expended on railway works during the year 1872 having been 182,955*l. 4s. 2d.*

It is a great loss to the Australian colonies, in a great variety of ways, that the trade with England is so exclusively confined, as it is at present, to the Port of London. We have vessels occasionally with goods and passengers from other ports of the United Kingdom,—from Liverpool, from Glasgow, from Bristol, from Aberdeen, from Belfast, &c.,—but all vessels homeward bound, whether from Sydney, Melbourne, or Hobart Town, are uniformly, with the rarest exceptions, bound to London. I trust, however, the enterprising merchants of the various colonies of the group will do their best to break up this London monopoly. Centralization, whether in trade or in politics, is a bad thing, and ought to be got rid of by all means. The benefit of a direct trade, to and fro, between the Australian

colonies and Liverpool or Glasgow would very soon be both seen and felt by both parties concerned, and the London monopolist would not in future have it all his own way, as he has now. A monthly line of screw-propeller steamships between Glasgow and Sydney, would be of incalculable benefit, both to Scotland and to Australia, and I should be greatly mistaken if it would not pay. In short, the trade with the Australian colonies at present is as much in the hands of a few London mercantile houses and ship-owners, as if the colonies were their own private estate; and the same process is now going on in many instances in Australia that helped to ruin the West Indies. For example, the colonial stockholder or squatter is indebted to the Sydney merchant, who has a *preferable lien on his wool*, or a *mortgage on his live stock*; the amount of these liens and mortgages for the year 1872, being as follows, *viz.* :—

Preferable Liens on Wool, and Mortgages on Live Stock.

	£	s.	d.
360 liens . . .	337,032	1	0
303 mortgages . . .	1,076,432	12	2
Total	<u>£1,413,464</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>

Such, then, to use an American phrase, was the “indebtedness” of the veritable aristocracy, the stockholders or squatters of New South Wales, to the merchants of Sydney on the 31st of December, 1872. Before they could call an ounce of wool on their sheep’s backs, or any portion of their live stock, their own, these gentlemen had nearly a million and a half to pay to the Sydney merchants for the supplies they had furnished for their stations, or the advances they had made them; besides book debts that had not taken the form of liens or mortgages. In such circumstances, the stockholder or squatter is no longer able to make the best bargain he can for the carriage of his wool or tallow to London. He cannot, for instance, ship it or

board any vessel, however eligible, at the nearest port; for the Sydney merchant is in all probability a member of the Hunter's River Steam Navigation Company, which must live, as well as other Companies: and, therefore, the settler's wool must be forwarded to Sydney, that the Company may get from five to ten shillings a bale for carriage to the port of shipment. Besides, the Sydney merchant is virtually the mere agent or man of business for some extensive mercantile house or shipowner in London, and the wool or tallow must, therefore, be forwarded to London by his friend Mr. So-and-so's ships. The squatter in the meantime cannot go past the Sydney merchant, who holds the lien or mortgage on his wool or stock, for the supplies for his station. He might doubtless get them both better and cheaper elsewhere, but he must take them as Mr. —— has them, and at what price he chooses to ask, and be thankful. Nay, so completely is this chain of monopoly bound round the colony, that if the squatter has managed so as to be out of debt, and to have it in his power to make his own bargain for the conveyance of his wool or tallow to London, direct with the shipmaster, and carries his bills of lading to the banks (which make it a rule in such cases to make a certain advance on the bills of lading, and hold them in security), the banks will not make that advance unless the bills of lading are endorsed by a Sydney merchant. Why? Why, because the Sydney merchants are generally bank directors, and they have made this law—not for the public benefit, but for their own—as legislators of all kinds are sure to do, unless they are properly bitted and bridled by the people. For the Sydney merchant in such cases charges the unfortunate squatter not less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for his mere indorsement, which implies no risk whatever, and is in reality of no more use in giving either value or validity to the bill of lading, than the name of John Thomas, the carrier, on the back of a Bank of England

note—thereby perhaps taking the very cream off the profits of the unfortunate colonist, who has no redress. It were extremely desirable, therefore, for the colonists generally that this system of strict monopoly and iniquitous extortion were broken up ; for to talk of freedom of trade in Australia, under existing circumstances, is preposterous.

About thirty years ago, the sperm and black whale fishery was one of the most important branches of trade in New South Wales, not fewer than forty-one square rigged vessels being then employed in that branch of trade out of the Port of Sydney; but it has since gradually declined, and it is now in a very languishing state. Perhaps this has been owing in part to the establishment of the colony of New Zealand, which is more in the centre of the whaling ground than New South Wales, and fitter for being the head-quarters of this branch of trade for the Pacific Ocean; but I presume it has arisen chiefly from the trade having been found unprofitable, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining suitable crews for the colonial whalers.

I have shown in a previous chapter what incalculable loss the colony of New South Wales has sustained during the last fifteen or twenty years, in the virtual cessation of emigration from the mother country to its territory, and in the great depression it has experienced in that particular respect, from the fatal change effected in the policy of the country, through the influence and efforts of the late Mr. Wentworth. But it is the characteristic and the happy distinction of the Anglo-Saxon people, that they will thrive under the worst possible government, and that their community will advance and prosper under the most unfavourable circumstances. In proof of this very interesting fact, I shall conclude this chapter with an abstract of a very able paper by Christopher Rolleston, Esq., Auditor-General of New Wales, which was read by that gentleman before the Society of the colony, entitled "Statistical Review

Progress of New South Wales during the last ten years," that is from 1861 to 1871.

In the article of population, Mr. Rolleston observes that the census of 1861 resulted in a total population of 350,860 souls, while that of 1871 resulted in a total population of 503,981 souls, thereby exhibiting an aggregate gain to the country of 153,121 souls, equal to 43 per cent. in the decennary.

"When we consider," observes Mr. Rolleston, "the area comprised within its limits, and know that for each man, woman, and child in it—were it parcelled out amongst them—over 400 acres of land would fall to the lot of each, and when we reflect on this further fact that we have room for a population exceeding 20,000,000 of souls, or forty times the number of its present inhabitants, we cannot but hail with pleasure the prospect which is opening to us of a considerable accession, not only by reason of the attraction of our mineral wealth, but by means of an assisted immigration."³

In the article of production, Mr. Rolleston observes, as follows:—

"The statistics show that we commenced the decennial period with the following live-stock, namely :—

Horses	273,389
Cattle	2,620,383
Sheep	6,145,651

and that we close the decennary with

Horses	304,100
Cattle	2,014,888
Sheep	16,278,697

that is to say, we have increased our horse stock by over thirty thousand; we are poorer in horned cattle by over six hundred thousand, and we have increased our sheep by over ten millions."

³ Mr. Rolleston is evidently thankful for very small mercies, when he is thankful for the notorious sham of assisted immigration.

During eight of the ten years comprised in the census, the exports of cattle and sheep, chiefly across the Murray River to Victoria, were 517,630 cattle and 3,245,577 sheep.

In the article of wool, the export in 1871 had amounted to 65,611,953 pounds, of an estimated value of 4,748,160*l.*; "the income from our pastoral industry," observes Mr. Rolleston, "having nearly doubled itself in the last six years."

The grand total of the export of wool, tallow, and live-stock, amounted, according to Mr. Rolleston, to 8,598,633*l.*

In agriculture, Mr. Rolleston observes, that the acreage under wheat had increased 30 per cent. from the previous census; that of maize having increased 17 per cent., and that of all other crops 24 per cent.

In the article of sugar, an item in the agricultural produce of the colony which was unknown at the period of the previous census, Mr. R. states, that in the four years from 1869 to 1872, the value of the sugar produced in the colony had exceeded 150,000*l.*

In the production of wine, according to Mr. R., the returns show an increase from 144,888 gallons in 1863, to 413,321 gallons in 1872. What this production might amount to in value he did not know.

Mr. Rolleston observes, that in the article of gold, the quantity produced during the whole decennial period amounted to 11,591,742*l.*, there having been a large increase in the amount during the latter portion of the period, and the production of the last year of it having amounted to 1,143,781*l.*

In the article of coal, Mr. R. shows that the quantity produced during the last decennial period was more than three times the quantity that had been produced during the previous decennial; the total quantity during the latter period being 7,230,553, of which the estimated value was 3,149,770*l.*

In copper and kerosene, the quantity produced during the last year of the decennial period was valued at £1,325*l.*

In the article of manufactures, Mr. Rolleston regards as the most noticeable circumstance the establishment of not fewer than fifty-seven mills for the manufacture of sugar from the cane, during the two preceding years.

In the manufacture of woollen cloth, Mr. R. observes, that although the mills for this manufacture had only increased from five to seven during the decennial period, there had been an increase in the produce during the second, as compared with the first half of the decennial period, of from 120,719 yards to 218,276.

Such, then, are the evidences of the extraordinary progress which the colony of New South Wales has made in all the elements of material advancement during the last decennial period of its existence, notwithstanding the prodigious loss it has sustained through the Grand Larceny to which it has been subjected by its Government during the whole of that period in the matter of immigration.

In the Appendix No. VI. will be found certain Statistical Returns bearing upon the subject of this chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WESTERN COUNTIES.

"The man waxed great, and went forward, and grew until he became very great; for he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants."—GENESIS xxvi. 13.

THE Great Western Railway, leading from Sydney to Bathurst, traverses the metropolitan county of Cumberland at the point of its greatest breadth, dividing it into two nearly equal divisions, north and south. The county of Cumberland is bounded towards the north and west by the Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers; and towards the south by the Cowpasture River, which falls into the Nepean, and a ridge of moderately high land running eastward to the Pacific. Its superficial extent is 1586 square miles, and its population, inclusive of the city of Sydney, 167,153. The live-stock of this county, up to the 31st March, 1873, consisted of—

Horses	18,569
Horned cattle	41,131
Pigs	12,813
Sheep	15,551

Agriculture in the metropolitan county of Cumberland is confined chiefly to the alluvial banks of the three rivers that form its boundaries, and the various minor streams or creeks communicating with them; much of the forest-land that was cleared and cultivated in the earlier times of the colony having been subsequently converted into pasture-land, on the discovery of a much richer soil for cultivation.

in the trap, limestone, and granite countries to the northward, southward, and westward. Grass paddocks in this county are in much request by the purchasers of stock for the Sydney market.

Within the last few years, however, it has been found that both cattle and sheep, depasturing in certain localities in the county of Cumberland, have been subject to a disease somewhat resembling the cholera in man—equally mysterious in its origin, equally rapid in its progress, and equally fatal in its termination: and there have even been several instances of unfortunate individuals who have died from having either inhaled the noxious gases disengaged from the carcases of animals that have died of this disease, or wounded themselves with the flaying-knife when skinning them. Attempts have been made by authority to ascertain the cause and origin of this disease, but they have not as yet been successful: stringent municipal regulations have been passed, however, for the immediate destruction of the carcases of all animals dying of the disease.

For the first fifteen miles of the road to Bathurst, or as far as the town of Parramatta, the journey to the westward may be made either by land or by water. Parramatta is the second town in the colony: it has a population of 6103, and returns two members to the Legislative Assembly, although entitled only to one. It is finely situated in a hollow at the head of the navigation of the great inlet or harbour of Port Jackson; the Parramatta River, which flows into the inlet at the head of tide-water, being an insignificant stream. There is a communication many times a day in either direction, between Sydney and Parramatta, both by steamboats and by railway; and although there are no mountains in the vicinity to add sublimity to the scene, the sail either up or down the river exhibits the romantic, the picturesque, and the beautiful, in the highest degree—the channel ever and anon widening and contract-

ing alternately; throwing off long arms or coves, and forming beautiful bays and headlands to the right and left, while the sandstone rocks that line the banks assume all manner of fantastic forms, and contrast delightfully with the varying hues of the indigenous shrubbery. Ever and anon, a neat cottage embowered in foliage, or a more aspiring villa in the midst of a grove of orange-trees, vines, and peach-trees, strikes the eye from an eminence in sight; while, at every landing-place on the route, passengers to or from Sydney are either received on board, or landed at their respective homes.

Some of the oldest and most extensive orangeries in the colony are situated on the Parramatta River, and at a place about five miles beyond Parramatta, on the road to Windsor, called Baulkham Hills. Of these orangeries there are individual proprietors, who, after furnishing a large supply for the Sydney market, can annually export from ten to twenty, or thirty thousand dozen to Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand, where the orange cannot be grown, and who realize incomes from that source alone of 2000*l.* a year. It is a singular illustration of the correctness of the representation I have given above of the peculiarly genial character of the climate of New South Wales, that the orange-tree does not grow at Charleston in South Carolina, that is, in a lower latitude in the opposite hemisphere. Shortly before my visit to the United States in the year 1840, a severe frost had killed all the orange-trees, not only in and around Charleston, but as far south as the city of St. Augustine, in Florida. We have no such visitations in New South Wales.

Parramatta had a Government-house and domain, in which the Governors of the olden time used to reside, till the erection of a suitable Government-house in Sydney, during the administration of Sir George Gipps, when the Secretary of State for the Colonies, considering a second

house of the kind quite unnecessary, it ceased to be used for that purpose. There is a handsome bridge of cut stone across the river, erected, in the first style of his art, by the late Mr. Lennox, of Parramatta, the able architect of Lansdowne Bridge, on the Liverpool road. The river divides the town into two equal parts. There are two Episcopal churches in the place, two Wesleyan Methodist, one Presbyterian, one Independent, one Roman Catholic, and one Baptist; besides several other highly creditable buildings, both public and private. The town, as a whole, is well planned and well built, and its general appearance is much in its favour. It was the oldest settlement out of Sydney in the colony, and it had consequently a considerable portion of the old leaven in its original constitution; but it is a quiet, orderly town, and the inhabitants generally are a peaceful, and I am happy to add, a church-going people.

The land, generally, along the road to Parramatta is of inferior quality; but the vicinity of a large city gives even land of this kind an adventitious value, and there is consequently much of it clear and in cultivation, especially for gardens and orchards. Neat cottages also are to be seen embowered in foliage on both sides of the way. The Bathurst road and Railway leave the town of Parramatta to the right, and the country continues of much the same character as towards Sydney. At five miles from Parramatta, however, at a place called Prospect, there has been an eruption of volcanic matter, and the soil formed from its decomposition exhibits the usual character of that formation, being of a deep chocolate colour, and of exhaustless fertility.

Beyond the settlement of Prospect, the Western Road skirts along the old Government agricultural establishments of Toongabbee and Rooty Hill, and the houses of respectable landholders are observable at irregular intervals to the right and left. Farther on, the South Creek, one of the

tributaries of the Hawkesbury, rises on the left of the road and pursues a course of about twenty-five miles to the right, to where it falls into that river below the town of Windsor. Along the winding course of this stream there is much alluvial land, which is generally occupied in small farms by practical farmers, who raise grain, oaten hay, potatoes, and other produce for the Sydney market. At length, the Blue Mountains are seen, through an opening in the forest, towering upwards, at a distance of ten or twelve miles directly in front; the road running for a considerable distance, in a due westerly direction, as straight as an arrow, and the lofty trees on either side of it forming a vista somewhat similar to that which is formed by two corresponding rows of pillars in an old Gothic cathedral. The intervening valley of the Hawkesbury then opens gradually on the view, presenting a large extent of champaign country, through which the river Nepean, spreading fertility in its progress, like the ancient river of Egypt, winds romantically along the base of the mountains.

Penrith, on the Nepean, was a thriving town, finely situated on the edge of the alluvial plain which stretches for miles along the Nepean River to the northward, till the railway passed through it to Bathurst; but railways very often make sad changes in the fortune of towns along their course, and Penrith is one of those towns that have felt the change for the worse, as nobody ever thinks of staying there now, in journeying either eastward or westward. The Nepean is formed from the junction of the Cowpasture and Warragumby Rivers, and skirts the base of the Blue Mountains, occasionally leaving an alluvial flat of considerable extent towards the mountains. About fifteen miles due north, the Nepean is joined by another river called the Grose, which issues from a remarkable cleft in the mountains at the town of Richmond, where the united streams form the Hawkesbury. Six miles lower down,

on a rising ground on the eastern bank of the Hawkesbury, is the town of Windsor, which is forty miles from Sydney by land, but 100 from the sea at Broken Bay by the course of the river. From the heights at Windsor, and still more so from those at Richmond, the view of the great expanse of alluvial plain,—covered perhaps with rich crops of wheat and maize, while the Blue Mountains, stretching along like a vast wall of rock, and enveloped in their dark mantle of indigenous forest, shut in the scene to the westward,—is one of the most interesting and beautiful in Australia. There is a branch railway, which strikes off to the right from the main Trunk Line to Bathurst, at Blacktown Junction, about eight miles from Parramatta. It was intended for the towns of Windsor and Richmond, and the dwellers on the Hawkesbury generally ; but it does not seem to have answered the end in view, at least financially, not having hitherto cleared its working expenses. The population of the three towns I have mentioned, all of which are in the county of Cumberland, is as follows, viz. Penrith, 5321 ; Richmond, 3083 ; and Windsor, 4963. There are places of worship and congregations of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic communions in all of these towns.

The Nepean River is crossed by a noble iron bridge, available both for the railway and the common road, at Emu Plains, a Government farm in the olden times of the colony ; the river being there 200 yards in breadth, and broad and deep enough for miles above to float a ship of the line. It bears this character, indeed, for thirteen miles above Penrith, to where it joins the Warragumby River ; and as it flows, in this part of its course, between two lofty mountain ranges, clothed with the finest foliage from the indigenous shrubs and trees of the country, the scenery is as wild and romantic as the finest lake scenery in the Highlands of Scotland. The country to the westward of the

Nepean River is the county of Cook, the first of the Western counties.

The six western counties are those of Cook, Westmoreland, Georgiana, Roxburgh, Bathurst, and Wellington. The united areas of these counties amount to 11,216 square miles, and their population to 58,170. But beyond the boundaries to the westward there are the two great pastoral or squatting districts of the Lachlan River and Wellington, with an area of 39,495 square miles, and a population of 25,817. The entire area and population of these western counties and squatting districts, with the quantity of stock they contained up to the 31st of March, 1873, are as follows, viz. :—

Area in square miles	50,711
Population	83,987
Horses	71,329
Horned cattle	262,389
Pigs	30,560
Sheep	3,568,479

It appears, therefore, that, although the resident population is so thinly scattered over the extensive area of the western interior, that there is scarcely more than one person and a half for each square mile, there are nearly horses enough to mount every man, woman, and child in the district, while, for every individual of this population, there would be a large allowance both of cattle and sheep ! It would be difficult to find any other locality in the British Empire in which the actual population is so well provided for in all these important respects. The pig, it will be observed, is by no means a favourite article of stock in Australia, as it is in Ireland and elsewhere. The reason is obvious : it requires for its subsistence artificial food and the labour of man in producing it ; while all the other descriptions of stock, with the exception of horses in

towns, subsist entirely, all the year round, upon the bounty of nature.

The county of Cook is bounded towards the east by the Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers, and towards the north-east by the McDonald River, a navigable tributary of the Hawkesbury, pretty thickly settled, which empties itself into the main river about fifty miles from the sea. It is traversed in its whole extent, from west to east, by the Colo River, or Second Branch, which is also pretty thickly settled, and which empties itself into the Hawkesbury about ten miles higher up ; and there is a navigable creek between the two branches, called Webb's Creek, which supports a small agricultural population. There is also a considerable extent of alluvial plain between the Hawkesbury and the mountains at Windsor ; and the Kurryjong district in that direction is occupied by numerous small farmers who grow wheat and maize for the Sydney market. In general, however, the county of Cook consists of vast masses of sandstone rock, piled up into mountains of three or four thousand feet in height, and separated from each other by tremendous gullies, some of which will probably never be trodden by the foot of man.

On leaving Penrith the Great Western Railway crosses the Nepean River and Emu Plains—a fine alluvial flat of about a mile in breadth, formerly the site of a penal settlement—and then commences the ascent of the Blue Mountains. This, it may well be supposed, is a sufficiently formidable undertaking ; for, whereas Emu Plains, from which the ascent commences, is only 87 feet above the level of the sea, there has to be accomplished, in the next thirty-seven miles, in order to reach the highest point of the line at Blackheath, which is 3494 feet above the ocean-level, an ascent of 3407 feet. And how is this accomplished? Why, by what can only be regarded as a great triumph in engineering—the railway running up the face of the moun-

tain in one direction on as steep a gradient as can be used with safety and advantage; and when it can get no farther in that direction, turning round, as it were, and proceeding with the same gradient in the opposite direction till it reaches the higher level required ; the engine, instead of turning round like the horses on a city tramway to the other end of the carriage, retaining its position all the while, but reversing its action—pulling along the first ascent, and pushing along the second, and then pulling again along a third, if required, as in this case.

The descent on the opposite side of the mountains into Lithgow Valley, or Wallerrawang, is accomplished in precisely the same way; but the difference of elevation on that side is much smaller than on the other, the descent from Blackheath to Wallerrawang being only 567 feet, while the ascent from Emu Plains to Blackheath is 3407 feet, the Western country generally being about 2000 feet above the level of the sea.

Such, then, are the famous zigzags on the Great Western Railway of New South Wales—one of the principal objects of interest for all strangers visiting the colony. As it would be unpardonable, however, to dismiss the interesting subject of the crossing of the Blue Mountains with so slight a notice as I have just given, I shall mention a few incidents of travel on that course in past times, not by the railway, but by the road ; for I have crossed the Blue Mountains five times—in 1826 ; in 1834 ; in 1851 ; in 1862, and in 1874.

On leaving Emu Plains the road winds along the face of a precipitous range, with a deep, dark, wooded glen immediately to the right; a sufficient extent of level surface for the passage of wheel-carriages having been formed in the penal times of the colony by blasting and quarrying away large portions of the solid rock. The ascent is at first steep and circuitous ; but on attaining the summit of the first heights, or Lapstone Hill, it becomes so gentle as

to be scarcely perceptible. The country, on this part of the route, consists chiefly of forest-land of inferior quality ; the trees are lofty, and for the most part of the iron-bark species ; and though the inferior vegetation is scanty, there is food for horses and cattle. The country continues of this character, gradually rising for ten or twelve miles, when the scene suddenly changes; the ascent again becomes much steeper; the country assumes a broken and rugged aspect ; the vegetation exhibits a stunted character, and the grass of the lower levels disappears. On this part of the route, the country which the road traverses consists of immense masses of sandstone mountain, piled over each other in the wildest confusion, like Pelion on Ossa ; while trees of moderate elevation and of an endless variety of botanical families are seen in every direction, *moored in the rifted rock*. The mountain range traversed by the Bathurst road, as also by the railway, is the dividing range that separates the numberless deep gullies that communicate with the valley of the Grose River to the right, from a similar series of impassable ravines, communicating with the valley of Cox's River or the Warragumby, above its junction with the Wollondilly, to the left. The road has consequently to follow all the sinuosities of the range,—so much so, that the course of a traveller on the mountains very much resembles that of a ship beating up against a head-wind ; for he finds, to use the maritime phraseology, that although his *log* indicates a rapid progressive motion, he has after all made but a very few miles of *westing*.

About twenty-five miles from Penrith, the summit of the ridge which forms the road presents a remarkable plateau, which Governor Macquarie, on his journey across the mountains in the year 1815, named *The King's Table-Land*, and which has since been ascertained by Count Strzelecki to be 2790 feet above the level of the sea. The views from this elevation, from which the lighthouse on the South

Head of Port Jackson, distant about seventy miles, is distinctly visible, combine the sublime and beautiful in an eminent degree—rugged mountains without number towering upwards to the northward, southward, and westward, and wooded to their very summits, except where the gray sand-stone rock is in masses too vast or too precipitous to be hidden by the native forest; while, far below to the eastward, the valley of the Hawkesbury, with its rich green fields of wheat and maize, its rising towns and villages, and its beautiful river, is spread out like a carpet, as if to contrast with the wild sublimities of nature the milder beauties of civilization.

On my first journey across the mountains, in the month of May, 1826, our party had started from their resting-place for the night long before daylight on a cold winter morning, when the ground was covered with hoar frost, and had reached "The King's Table-Land" in time to behold the glorious phenomenon of the rising sun gradually lifting up the dark veil of night from the valley of the Hawkesbury, as it lay outstretched in silent loveliness far beneath us; while in a few minutes after the clear river skirting along the yellow corn-fields in the valley seemed like a border of silver on a web of cloth of gold. The oblique rays of the sun that fell powerlessly in the meantime on the top branches of the lofty trees in the numerous deep gullies to the right and left, served only to render visible the dismal darkness of these gloomy ravines, the precipitous sides of some of which are not less than from one to two thousand feet in height, and which had doubtless never been trodden by the foot of man.

On a subsequent journey across the Blue Mountains which I made on horseback shortly after the discovery of gold in Australia, in the year 1851, my fellow-traveller for part of the way was a gentleman with whom I had met accidentally on the mountains, at a place

called the Weather-Board Hut, twenty-seven miles from Penrith.

The gentleman I allude to was the only son of a retired military officer, a captain in the army, who had written me, on one of my visits to England, seventeen years before, for information and advice on the subject of his contemplated emigration to Australia. He had acted upon the advice I gave him at the time, and had emigrated to Victoria, where he had succeeded remarkably well, having settled in a low-lying country in the interior, called from himself, Bacchus Marsh. He had been dead seven years, and his son, having let his estate on lease, was then on a tour of pleasure in New South Wales, previous to a voyage which he contemplated to England. He had seen me at a public meeting in Sydney, and recognizing me on the mountains, he took the first opportunity he had thus had of thanking me personally for the information and advice I had given his late father so many years before.

The Weather-Board Hut, which was formerly a military station, when numerous gangs of convicts were employed in the construction of the Bathurst road, is, according to Captain King, 2844 feet above the level of the sea. A small mountain stream, which rises in still higher land in the neighbourhood, runs past it down a valley to the southward, at the extremity of which it leaps over a tremendous precipice into another and much more extensive valley below. This latter valley was named by Governor Macquarie Prince Regent's Glen: it is about twenty-four miles in length, and is enclosed, like a mountain pass or defile, between two precipitous walls of sandstone cliffs running east and west, with the Warragumby, or Cox's River, flowing eastward at its bottom. At the point where the rivulet from the Weather-Board Hut discharges itself, there is a break or bay in the line of cliffs on that side, as if a vast portion of the wall of rock had been quarried out for

the purpose; the two points appearing from behind like two lofty headlands jutting out into the valley, and bearing a remarkable resemblance to the heads of Port Jackson. The rivulet, which, in its course of two miles and a half from the Weather-Board Hut, has been swelled by one or two smaller streams, issuing from lateral valleys, to the size of a common mill-stream, precipitates itself all at once over the rocks at the head of the bay, and is lost in the abyss, the fall being at least 1000 feet. On gaining the edge of the precipice, the waters of the rivulet seem to shrink instinctively from the frightful leap to which they have been conducted in their course down the valley; each individual drop appearing endowed with a separate volition, and seeming determined to shift for itself; and the whole mass of fluid resolving itself into what appears like innumerable particles of frozen snow. Many hundred feet below, the tops of apparently lofty trees are seen in the bottom of Prince Regent's Glen; and so completely do the Cyclopean walls of rock which form the glen defy all direct communication between the heights and the hollow, that the shortest distance by any practicable route from the place where the rivulet leaps over the precipice, to the bottom of the cliffs over which it falls, is sixteen miles. Governor Macquarie named the waterfall, *The Campbell Cataract*, in honour of the Colonial Secretary of the period, who accompanied him on his journey. Those who have seen it when the rivulet has been swollen to a torrent by great rains describe the scene as overpoweringly sublime.

There is a considerable extent of available land in the valley of the Weather-Board Hut, which, in the hands of industrious people, would grow all sorts of European roots and vegetables, besides oats and barley, the gooseberry and currants, with the common European fruits; and I have no doubt that a considerable village or Sanitarium will eventually spring up in this vicinity, for the health of valetudi-

narians from Sydney and elsewhere in the low country, who may require a rapid change to a colder climate, the elevation of this locality above the ocean level being 2856, or nearly 3000 feet above the lower level. For as 250 feet of elevation are equivalent, in point of temperature, to a degree of latitude, the mere removal of a patient from Sydney to this locality, which can now be easily effected by the railway in three or four hours, would be tantamount to a voyage or journey to some country of eleven degrees higher latitude. For example, although the morning was delightfully warm when I left the inn at Penrith, I felt the wind on these elevated levels cold and piercing. The Grose River wends its way to the Hawkesbury along a valley precisely similar in its general character to Prince Regent's Glen.

The dividing range which separates the two rivers continues pretty much of the same character till it terminates abruptly in a steep and almost precipitous mountain, called Mount York, upwards of 3600 feet above the level of the sea; and as the range presents in every other direction a line of perpendicular rocks of several hundred feet in height towards the valley on either side, it was absolutely necessary to descend this mountain, to reach the lower level beyond it. To effect this object, the original projectors of the Bathurst road seem to have imagined that the most expeditious way of getting down the mountain was to descend headlong; for the original road was as precipitous as can well be imagined. The superintendence of the roads of the colony being afterwards entrusted to Major Lockyer, of His Majesty's 57th Regiment, a great improvement was effected on the descent of Mount York; a new road being formed under Major Lockyer's direction, in which the descent was diminished to one foot in every four. The acclivity, however, was still distressing for cattle proceeding towards Sydney with heavily-laden drays; and the descent

was so dangerous, that the drivers of bullock-carts had uniformly to cut down a tree on the summit of the mountain, and fasten it as a drag to the cart-wheels before attempting it. At length, Major, afterwards Sir Thomas, Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, whose talents in this important department of engineering were of the highest order, being entrusted with the general superintendence of the roads of the colony, a bold and original expedient for gaining the lower level was happily devised and successfully executed, to the incalculable benefit of the inhabitants of the extensive and important country in the western interior.

Parallel to Mount York, Sir Thomas Mitchell observed another mountain of nearly equal elevation, called Mount Vittoria, which he found connected with the former mountain, for a certain distance from their base, by a natural dyke, or narrow ledge of rocks, stretching across the intervening abyss. He therefore threw down a portion of the rocky summit of Mount York till he reached the summit-level of the connecting dyke, and then, carrying the road in a sloping direction along this natural causeway to Mount Vittoria, lengthened out the remaining descent by cutting a gently inclined plane along the precipitous side of the latter mountain to the valley below. It was one of those bold conceptions that occur only to men of original genius; and it can only be appreciated on the spot, by a skilful observer of the striking locality. The dyke or ledge of rocks on which the road crosses the intervening valley, is so narrow, and withal so elevated, that it seems quite aërial; and the traveller can scarcely divest himself of a feeling of insecurity in passing along it. The valley to the eastward was designated by Governor Macquarie the Vale of Clwyd, after a well known valley in North Wales, which it is supposed to resemble in its general outline. I recollect admiring the beauties of that justly celebrated vale from the

ruins of Denbigh Castle, during a solitary pedestrian tour which I happened to make in North Wales on being let loose upon the world from a Scottish University in the year 1821 ; but I confess I experienced far higher emotions—emotions of an overpowering and spirit-stirring character—when sitting on horseback and contemplating the sublimer features of the Australian valley from the pass of Mount Vittoria.

Two miles and three quarters in point of distance were saved to the travelling public of the colony in the ante-railway period by this important public work, while the descent was diminished from one foot in every four to one in every fifteen.

My fellow-traveller and myself had stopped so much longer than we intended, contemplating the wonders of the cataract at the Weather-Board Hut, that it had got quite dark when we reached the inn at the foot of Mount Vittoria Pass, distant from Sydney seventy-nine miles, and situated at an elevation of 2607 feet above the level of the sea ; our day's ride from Penrith having been forty-six miles. I felt quite stiff from cold and fatigue when we reached the inn ; and a blazing wood fire on the hearth was particularly agreeable.

To the westward of Mount Vittoria, the country consists chiefly of hills and valleys watered by running streams, and abounding in excellent pasture for sheep and cattle. There has consequently been a large extent of land occupied, in this part of the route, under Mr. Robertson's famous Free Selection Act ; and the different roads to Bathurst conduct the traveller to many interesting spots, where prosperous farming establishments have been formed in the wilderness ; in the neighbourhood of which the bleating of sheep and the lowing of cattle are heard in the dewy morning, enlivening the inland "woods and wilds" of Australia, and recalling the cherished recollections of rural scenes far beyond the annual northern journey of the sun.

There are several rising towns in this part of the territory, which, from its agricultural, coal and kerosene-shale mining population, are sure to become, at no distant period, places of importance. The township and rural district of Hartley, for instance, contain a population of 3507 souls; and at Cox's River, which is formed by the junction of two small streams at its western extremity, granite, in large boulders, appears for the first time on the route from Sydney, distant eighty-seven miles. Bowenfels also is a rising village in this neighbourhood; and so also is Wallerawang at the Railway Station. There are Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic churches in central localities in this district, for the thinly scattered population of the surrounding country. There is also a court-house at Hartley, and a public school remarkably well conducted at Bowenfels. The mountain scenery around the Vale of Clwyd is exceedingly picturesque, although I cannot approve of giving such outlandish names as Hassan's Walls to Australian scenery of any kind, as has been done in this vicinity from the fancied resemblance of the locality to one of that name in Spain. The Spanish name was doubtless given in commemoration of some memorable event in the Moorish history of that country; but what connexion can we Australians have with the Moors of Spain? Sir Thomas Mitchell deserves the highest credit for retaining so many of the beautiful native names of Australia, and for banishing many of those English barbarisms with which the colonial nomenclature has hitherto been encumbered in the silly and preposterous attempt to confer immortality on undeserving objects—to embalm *nomena obscurorum virorum*;¹ but he has not always been successful in his own English names. For my own part, like the author of the following verses, as old as Sir Thomas Brisbane's time,—

¹ The names of obscure men.

"I like the native names ; as Parramatta,
 And Illawarra, and Woolloomoolloo ;
 Nandowra, Woogarora, Bulkomatta,
 Tomah, Toongabbee, Mittagong, Meroo ;
 Buckobble, Cumleroy, and Coolingatta,
 The Warragumby, Bogielong, Emu ;
 Cookbundoon, Carrabaiga, Wingycarribbee,
 The Wollondilly, Yurumbon, Bungarribbee.

"I hate your Goulburn Downs, and Goulburn Plains,
 And Goulburn River, and the Goulburn Range,
 And Mount Goulburn, and Goulburn Vale. One's brains
 Are turned with Goulburns ! Pitiful—this mange
 For immortality ! Had I the reins
 Of government a fortnight, I would change
 These common-place appellatives, and give
 The country *names that should deserve to live.*"²

At the time I made my first visit to the Gold Mines, in the year 1851, the mania for the diggings was at its height throughout the colony. Along the whole road from Sydney, I had accordingly passed numberless vehicles of every description carrying adventurers to the Diggings—some of them to Ophir, but by far the greater number to the Turon. Many of these consisted of regular parties of three, four, or five persons, with one or two horse drays remarkably well appointed, and laden with all the requisites for a complete establishment at the mines—tent-furniture, flour, tea, and sugar ; picks, shovels, crowbars, and tin pans, &c., the never-failing cradle being strapped on over all, or slung underneath or behind. Many other parties, of perhaps two or three persons of a humbler grade, were apparently not so well fitted out ; having a horse and cart, however, for the conveyance of their equipment, as a sort of joint-stock concern. The mail to Bathurst, which was then running daily, was regularly packed with diggers, and a daily coach had been

² *Diary of an Officer in the East.* Frederick Goulburn, Esq., was Colonial Secretary during Sir Thomas Brisbane's government ; and was anything but popular.

established to carry passengers direct to the Turon and Mudgee. But hundreds of adventurers were on foot, in parties of three or four, carrying all their outfit on their backs; and I observed, half way over the mountains, one tall, stout man, in particular, accompanied by his wife—both of them apparently above the condition of mere labourers—who had all his available stuff on a new wheelbarrow, which he seemed to have trundled before him all the way from the low country, to the eastward of the mountains. His wife, who was decently attired, was walking a little way off from him by the roadside; but as she seemed somewhat alive to the ludicrous character of *the situation*, and averted her head as I passed, I exhibited all due deference and respect for their domestic arrangements. It struck me afterwards, that they had probably lost their bullocks or horses on the road, or had broken the shafts or axle of their dray, and been obliged to send back a detachment of their party to find the lost cattle, or to get their dray repaired, and bring up the rear; for these were very common casualties on the mountain-road at that period. I also met a considerable number of persons on the road, returning from the diggings; some of whom, I ascertained, had been successful, and were satisfied with their earnings, while others had been unsuccessful, and were quite the reverse.

There was a remarkable uniformity in the costumes of the diggers of whatever grade; the *fashion*, it seems, having been *set* from California. It consisted of drab-coloured felt, or cabbage-tree hats,³ and red or blue flannel shirts, strapped round the waist with a leather belt, without coat

³ The cabbage-tree hat is manufactured chiefly by shepherds, in certain parts of the country, from a substance resembling reed or split cane, which is obtained from the leaves or rind of the cabbage palm tree. The cabbage-tree *mob* is a colonial designation for the *bas monde*, who generally use this description of hat, which, of course, is much less costly than the English beaver.

or vest ; the nether garments being *ad libitum*, both as to colour and material.

From Wallerrawang, the Railway Station on the Great Western Line to Raglan, which is the present terminus of the line to Bathurst, the distance is thirty-five miles ; Bathurst being four miles farther off, or 144 miles from Sydney. Wallerrawang is 2927 feet above the ocean level. I mention the circumstance in connexion with the very singular case of the late proprietor of the estate of that name, in the immediate neighbourhood. The gentleman I allude to was James Walker, Esq., who had come out to the colony with an order for a grant of land in Sir Thomas Brisbane's time and had selected his grant of 2000 acres at Wallerrawang. He had previously been an officer of Marines in the Royal Navy, and was so much afflicted with asthma that he could never go to bed in Sydney, but had always to sit by a table the whole night with his head leaning on his hands. But he found to his great and most agreeable surprise as he told me himself in the year 1823, shortly after my own arrival in the colony, that whenever he reached a certain point on his way up the Blue Mountains, the asthma left him and never troubled him at Wallerrawang, whether the weather was wet or dry. Mr Walker asked me what I thought might be the cause of this very agreeable change in his own feelings, which he could not account for himself. I told him, as my own idea on the subject which I presume was correct; that his lungs were evidently of so delicate a texture as to be unable to bear the pressure of the atmosphere (fifteen pounds to every square inch) at the surface of the earth ; but that when 2000 feet of the lowest and heaviest strata of the atmosphere were removed, as would be the case on reaching that elevation, his lungs could have full play and his asthma would leave him. I mention this circumstance as a hint to any persons who may be similarly affected.

The view of the plain of Bathurst from the elevated land to the eastward, from which it is first seen at a great distance, on the old road from Sydney, but not from the railway which keeps a lower level, is singularly interesting. The eye is so much accustomed to forest scenery in New South Wales, that the sight of clear land is naturally associated with the idea of a vast expenditure of human labour; and the view of an extensive plain, naturally destitute of timber, consequently affects the traveller with a mingled emotion of surprise and delight. The plain of Bathurst is about nineteen miles in length, and from six to eight in breadth, containing about one hundred and thirty square miles of naturally clear land. It is by no means a dead level, but consists rather of a series of gentle elevations, with intervening plains of moderate extent; the surrounding forest-country being generally very thinly timbered, and patches of forest stretching at irregular intervals a considerable distance into the plains, like points of land into a lake.

It were no easy task to account for the existence of such open plains in the interior of a country so uniformly covered with timber in all other localities as the territory of New South Wales, and especially in situations where the soil is evidently by no means unfavourable for the growth of timber. I am inclined to believe, that the plains of Bathurst, and others of a similar character in the colony, both to the northward and southward, have at some former period been covered with timber, in common with the other parts of the territory; but that the timber having been in great measure destroyed in the course of some long drought similar to the one experienced during the government of General Darling, the frequent burning of the rich long grass on the plains by the black natives gradually destroyed the remainder of the forest, and prevented the growth of any succeeding generation of young trees.

confirmation of this idea I observed depressions in some parts of the plains, exactly similar to those which are formed by the burning out of a large tree, while in other places perpendicular holes of two or three feet in depth, rather more than sufficient to admit a horse's leg, and for that reason somewhat dangerous to horsemen, are not unfrequently met with, and seem to indicate the places in which smaller trees of hard timber had gradually wasted away.

The great extent of naturally clear land of superior quality formed the chief attraction of the Bathurst district when the stream of free emigration had begun to flow to the shores of Australia; but the difficulties of the mountain-road, which at that period were manifold and prodigious, could only be overpowered by men possessed both of energy and capital. The Bathurst country was therefore for the most part apportioned out in grants of two thousand acres each, to settlers of superior standing and respectability; and I was much pleased, on my first and second visits to the district, to observe the state of harmony in which the respectable settlers appeared to live with each other, and the regard they seemed to manifest for the ordinances of religion, and for the religious instruction of their families and servants. I was sorry to find, however, on my third visit to Bathurst, after an interval of twenty-five years from my first, that much of the landed property in the district had in the meantime changed hands; death having removed not a few of the original proprietors, while unfortunate speculation, to which colonists generally are sadly prone, had ruined and necessitated the removal of others. It is gratifying to think, however, that a new order of things had arisen in this important district, even out of the anticipated chaos of the gold discovery, long before Mr. Robertson's Free Selection Act had come into operation; and that an intermediate class of proprietors, between the

first-class settlers and the mere labourers, had sprung into existence, who, by the purchase and occupation of small farms, cultivated by their own manual labour, had effected a much healthier distribution of the landed property of the district. All this had occurred before the era of Free Selection, and had materially prepared the way for that wonderfully salutary revolution when it transpired.

For example, three brothers, natives of the colony, of the name of Hall, who rented a cultivation-farm at Bathurst, from an extensive proprietor in the low country, but who had all gone to the diggings for a time, and been remarkably successful—having obtained a quantity of gold, to the amount of 1700*l.* in value, in a few weeks—had at the period of my visit in 1851, offered their landlord 1000*l.* for the farm, which, I was told, he would have gladly accepted a year before. And I also learned, with much pleasure, that there were numerous instances of persons of the working classes, in the town and neighbourhood, having sums of from 150*l.* to 250*l.* in the local banks, which they would, in all likelihood, invest in houses and land in the district on the first favourable opportunity.

Including the available portion of the plain of Bathurst—of which the more elevated parts are better adapted for pasture than for cultivation, as they consist of a light gravelly soil, and present occasional collections of rounded water-worn pebbles of quartz—there is an extent of land of the first quality for the growth of wheat and of all other European produce sufficient for a population of millions, within a circuit of fifty miles around the town of Bathurst, and at an elevation of from 2000 to 3500 feet above the level of the sea.

The town of Bathurst—which, under the present Electoral Act, is a borough, and returns a member to the Legislative Council—is situated on the left bank of the Macquarie River, at an elevation of 2200 feet above the

ocean-level. The situation is magnificent—a noble river in front, occasionally fringed with swamp oaks, winding along through a singularly beautiful plain, naturally clear of timber, covered at the period of my visit with the richest verdure, and stretching along the whole field of vision, while the view is terminated on all sides by a continuous line of wooded hills in the distance, whose bold but picturesque outline is everywhere distinctly marked on the clear blue sky. The population of Bathurst is 5030; and it has places of worship, of a highly creditable appearance, for the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan Methodist communions. It is well planned, the streets being wide, and crossing each other at right angles; and its buildings, both public and private, are of a superior description to those of colonial country towns generally. It has an hospital, supported by voluntary contributions, a public school, and a local press, ably conducted, and generally influential throughout the district. On the whole, the town of Bathurst is not unworthy of the pre-eminence it has attained, of being the capital of the Western districts of New South Wales.

It is a remarkable fact that the timber of the western country generally is greatly inferior, both in quantity and quality, to that on the coast. The sorts of wood most frequently met with in the forest-ground near Bathurst are those designated by the colonists the white gum, the honeysuckle, the dwarf-box, and the swamp-oak, of the *eucalyptus* and *casuarina* families. From the lower side of the leaves of the white gum a substance of a whitish colour exudes in considerable quantity, and is found lying on the grass underneath the branches, in the dewy morning, like hoar-frost. It is called *manna* in the colony: it is of a sweetish taste, and is by no means unpleasant; but its relish reminds one too much of the medicine-chest to be particularly agreeable.

The openness of the country around Bathurst is more favourable for hunting and shooting than most other parts of the territory, with the exception of Argyle and Liverpool Plains. The kangaroo and the emu, or Australian ostrich, are hunted with dogs. They are both feeble animals, but they are not altogether destitute of means of defence. In addition to their swiftness of foot, which they possess in common with the hare and the ostrich of other countries, the emu has great muscular power in his long iron limbs, and can give an awkward blow to his pursuer by striking out at him behind like a young horse; while the kangaroo, when brought to bay by the dogs, rests himself on his strong muscular tail ; seizes the dog with his little hands or fore feet ; and, thrusting at him with one of his hind feet, which is armed for the purpose with a single sharp-pointed hoof, perhaps lays his side completely open. When hotly pursued, the kangaroo sometimes takes to the water, where, if he happens to be followed by a dog, he has a singular advantage over all other quadrupeds of his own size, from his ability to stand erect in pretty deep water. In this position he waits for the dog, and when the latter comes up close to him, he seizes him with his fore feet, and presses him under the water till he is drowned. The bustard or native turkey is occasionally shot in the Bathurst country : it sometimes weighs eighteen pounds, and it differs from the common turkey in the flesh of the legs being white, while that of the breast is dark-coloured. The quail, the snipe, the wood-duck, the black or water-duck, the curlew, the mutton-bird, and the spurwing plover also abound in the neighbourhood. At the period of my first visit to Bathurst in the year 1826, there was a club or society in great vigour in the district, called *The Bathurst Hunt*. It was formed chiefly for the extirpation of the *dingo* or native dog, which was then rather troublesome in the district on account of

sheep-killing propensities ; and the members had each to appear at all meetings of the Hunt in a green coatee with silver buttons, a red vest and white under-clothing, the lower extremities being encased in top-boots. I never learnt who the man of genius was who had invented a uniform sufficiently grotesque for a member of the French Institute ; but I was not sorry to learn, on my second visit, after an interval of eight years, that the Hunt had died a natural death, the members, I presume, having arrived in the mean time at the years of discretion.

The road to Mudgee, the second town in the Western Counties, branches off to the north-westward, from the great Trunk Line to Bathurst, at Wallerawang, 105 miles from Sydney. The distance is eighty miles, and the journey is performed either by coach or on horseback. The country along the road is an open pastoral country, well watered, and presenting all along its course flats of moderate extent, naturally clear of timber and well adapted for cultivation. On one of my journeys on horseback in the western interior I happened to arrive one evening, after a long ride for the day, at Ben Bullen on the Mudgee Road, the residence of the late Thomas Cadell, Esq. J.P., a nephew of the well-known publisher of Sir Walter Scott's works in Edinburgh, whose family, from their arrival in the colony in the year 1832, had been members of my congregation in Sydney ; and I spent a day with Mr. Cadell in visiting the neighbourhood, which is a very remarkable one indeed.

The distinguishing feature of Ben Bullen is continuous lines of perpendicular cliffs, separating the higher level or pastoral country from the lower or agricultural. The uppermost stratum in these cliffs consists of pudding-stone, varying in thickness from eight to sixteen feet. The next inferior stratum is sandstone of four feet in thickness. Then there is a stratum of what I supposed, from the metallic sound it emitted when struck, to be clink-stone, about an

inch in thickness, filling up all the minor crevices of the next inferior stratum, as if it had been poured out over the underlying rock when in a state of fusion. There is then a stratum of conglomerate of three feet in thickness ; under which there is one of gypsum, or a substance of similar character, containing numerous crystals of a salt, of which, I did not ascertain the chemical nature, but which is used as a cathartic by the shepherds in the vicinity. In certain places the face of these cliffs is hollowed out by the hand of Nature into extensive semicircular caves of overhanging rocks, in some of which the smooth face of the rock has been ornamented by the aborigines with numerous impressions of the fore arm, with the fingers extended. I have never been able to ascertain the nature or object of this practice, which has been common to the aborigines over a great extent of country ; for I have observed similar impressions on the smooth face of the sandstone rock, in similar natural caves on the banks of the Hawkesbury, on the opposite side of the Blue Mountains ; although on the Hawkesbury, the impressions were quite black, as if they had been made with a black paint, which had penetrated into the substance of the rock, while at Ben Bullen, they seem to have been formed with some unctuous but colourless substance (probably kidney fat,) which has also penetrated into the rock. I believe the practice had its origin in some superstition into which the aborigines were not disposed to initiate white men ; for the natives of the coast had an idea that a malicious spirit, called *Koppa*, frequented such caves, and they consequently never made use of them as places of shelter. This idea would doubtless be confirmed by an event, in which indeed it may have originated, and of which a traditionary account was preserved by the natives on the coast, viz. that a number of natives had on some occasion been killed by the fall of the overhanging rock, which formed the roof of a cave in which they had taken up their temporary abode.

After examining the caves, which are situated on the Ben Bullen estate, I rode out with Mr. Cadell six or seven miles along the Mudgee road to a place where it sweeps around the shoulder of a remarkable ridge, the singularly formed summit of which is called Blackman's Crown, in honour of one of the earliest settlers at Mudgee, whose hat or headpiece it was supposed to resemble. The view of the vast extent of forest country seen from this remarkable elevation, consisting of hill and dale, lightly wooded and covered with grass, is exceedingly interesting ; but the most striking feature in the scene is the Hole, or Crown Basin, as it is variously designated, a singularly formed cavity at the extremity of the Crown Ridge, walled in apparently all round, or as far at least as the eye can reach, with a continuous line of precipitous cliffs like those I have described at Ben Bullen.⁴ There is one break indeed in this line of cliffs, although not visible from the Ridge, to the south-westward, which forms an entrance for cattle into the Hole or Basin, which are there as safe as in a pound. This natural basin contains some thousands of acres of land, thinly wooded and well grassed, with a stream winding through it to the eastward. Towards its eastern extremity a detached flat-topped mountain, somewhat resembling Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope, shoots up and shuts in the view in that direction. The Crown Ridge Basin extends to Capertee, a similarly formed country to the eastward, from which there is a practicable route to the Hawkesbury by the valley of the Colo River, one of its tributaries. The stream that traverses the Basin empties itself into the Capertee River, which again falls into the Colo. This is therefore the *divisa aquarum*, or great water-shed of New South Wales ; the sources of the

⁴ There is a similarly formed cavity on the Wolgan River, to the eastward of this locality ; and there is another in the county of Camden, called Barragorang.

Turon; which flows to the westward, being distant only a few miles.

After our return from our morning's ride to the Basin, I rode out again in the afternoon, with my obliging host, to the head of the Turon, long regarded as the Pactolus or Golden river of New South Wales. The Turon river is one of the tributaries of the Macquarie. It is formed from the junction of three small streams, the Cullen Bullen or Dulhunty's Creek, the Willawah, and the Kuen Guen, or Jew's Creek. The Cullen Bullen rises on the estate of that name, originally the property of the late Dr. Dulhunty, a retired surgeon in the army, from the city of Bath, who settled in the colony, with his large family, in Sir Thomas Brisbane's time. It is only a few miles south-west from Ben Bullen. The Willawah rises in the same direction, and the two streams unite their waters above their junction with the Kuen Guen, or Jew's Creek, which rises on the flat of Ben Bullen, in front of Mr. Cadell's house ; the junction of the third of these creeks with the other two forming the Turon, which is thus a considerable stream, and not undeserving of the name of a river, at its head. From this point, the Turon has a course of from 100 to 130 miles west-north-west to the Macquarie River ; receiving, in its progress westward, many tributary streams from the right and left.

There are several rising towns on the road to Mudgee, particularly Cudgegong, about twenty miles distant, on the river of that name, which runs for many miles parallel to the line of road, and traverses, on its way to the Macquarie River, into which it falls, the very remarkable plain that forms the site of the town of Mudgee. That plain is a perfect circle of about seven miles in diameter, and is completely surrounded, so to speak, with a ring of mountains, of from twelve to fifteen hundred feet in height ; the view from all parts of the town, and in all directions, being

closed in with the mountains, which makes the scenery of the place romantic and beautiful in the highest degree.

Mudgee as a town is regularly and well built, with streets crossing at right angles, and with all the usual buildings, both secular and sacred, to be found in all colonial towns ; the population, by the census of 1871, being 1786. Mudgee has been long famous for its superior breed of sheep, and its first-class and high-priced wools ; for which it is mainly indebted to the patriotic exertions of — Bailly, Esq., a wealthy resident proprietor of long standing in the vicinity. Mudgee is also surrounded, within a circle of twenty miles, with a whole series of gold-fields, of which the one most recently formed, that of Gulgong, has proved the richest yet known in the colony. I had the pleasure of visiting that gold-field in January last, in the course of a series of tours I was making in the interior of the colony, in view of my present visit to England, and the publication of this work ; when I had the very unexpected honour of being met about three miles from the town of Gulgong, by a number of the principal inhabitants of the place, on horseback and in carriages of various kinds, to welcome my visit and to express their thanks for what they were pleased to regard as my services to the colony in times past. There is much land of a superior quality for cultivation in this locality, which if open to Free Selection would be occupied forthwith ; but much if not most of it is in private hands, and therefore locked up against the Free Selector.

As soon as the railway now constructing shall have reached Bathurst, which it has probably done by this time, it is to be continued to Orange, an important town about thirty-six miles distant westward, for which all the requisite preliminary arrangements had been completed beforehand. Orange is 3500 feet above the level of the sea, and is therefore a splendid agricultural district ; the average yield of wheat being twenty-five bushels to the acre, and all the

grains, fruits, and roots of Europe growing luxuriantly. There has been a large amount of Free Selection in this and indeed in all the western districts, and many fine farms of that origin present themselves along the roads in all directions. The population of Orange by the last census was 1486. The town is regularly and well built, and has a very respectable appearance; the view of Mount Canobolas, in its immediate neighbourhood, adding greatly to the interest and beauty of the scenery. There are many fine farms, both of purchased land of an earlier period and of Free Selection around the base of the mountain, and there is still much land to be possessed. The people of Orange are confident that their town will supersede Bathurst as the chief town of the western counties as soon as the railway reaches them. There is no doubt at all events that its agricultural resources are greatly superior.

Without stopping to mention particularly Carcoar and Cowra, two rising towns, in the midst respectively of a considerable pastoral population, to the left of the route, the next important town in the western interior is that of Forbes, on the Lachlan River, eighty miles due west of Orange, and 260 from Sydney. The intervening country, like that along the Mudgee Road, is a pastoral country, with frequent flats of greater or lesser extent, naturally clear of timber and ready for the plough. There are incipient towns in suitable localities and at proper distances along the route, which it is unnecessary to mention more particularly; and Free Selection has been going on to a greater or lesser extent the whole way, wherever the industrious settler who has perhaps made a little money to start with, as a miner on one of the western gold-fields, thinks he can form an eligible home for his family in the great wilderness. The evidence of which is constantly presenting itself along the route, recently erected log-hut and the piece of cultivation rudiments of the Free Selector's farm, in the bush.

My first visit to Forbes was in the year 1862. There was then a population of twenty-five thousand on the Lachlan diggings, which had been discovered in the previous year. But as these diggings were chiefly alluvial, they were soon exhausted, and the population for the most part moved off to some other gold-field. There is one of the kind at present in vigorous operation with a large mining population about forty miles to the westward of Forbes, called Parkes in honour of the present Premier. Of the comparatively small number who remained at Forbes after the general exodus, a town was gradually formed of very creditable appearance for the present, and of great promise for the future, as it forms the centre point for a very large extent of country in the interior; and free selection is now exhibiting its very gratifying results in the neighbourhood of Forbes, as well as in all other parts of the great western interior.

I happened rather accidentally to visit Forbes in December last (1873); for, having engaged to officiate at Orange on the last Sabbath of the year, I found at Grenfell that the only way I could be sure of reaching Orange in time was to proceed to Forbes and take the mail from thence to Orange, which I did accordingly. As there is a considerable number, however, of my fellow-countrymen in and around Forbes, to whom I was well known, and who requested me to preach and lecture in their good town during my short stay, I preached in the Presbyterian church in the morning of Christmas-day, and lectured on a subject of colonial interest in the evening; the attendance on both occasions being much better than I had anticipated. I was gratified to find also, during my stay, that the Episcopalian and Presbyterian ministers of the place, who were both young men of superior character and standing, and who had been fellow-students at the University of Sydney, were on very friendly terms with each other; their manses being close

to each other on a rising ground about a mile from the town, from which there is a magnificent view of the champaign country all around.

Of the other towns of the western interior there are Wellington and Montefiores, on the opposite banks of the Macquarie River, over which there is a noble bridge connecting them: there is also a gold-field in the immediate neighbourhood. Thirty miles farther down the Macquarie River, there is another town of great promise, called Dubbo, rapidly rising into importance, from its being on the direct route of the sheep and cattle export from the northward to Victoria. And 300 miles farther west, and 600 from Sydney, there is the rising town of Bourke on the Darling River, with a highly promising copper-mine called Cobar on the way. The trade of Bourke is chiefly with Adelaide in South Australia by means of steamers on the Darling River, when it is navigable so far up. Bourke is situated in 30° south latitude.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HUNTER AND MANNING RIVERS.

"Ditissimus arvis;
Quinque grēges illi balantūm, quina redibant
Armenta, et terram centum vertebat aratris."

VIRG. *Aen.* vii. 539.

"Five herds, five bleating flocks, his pasture fill'd,
His lands a hundred yoke of oxen till'd." DRYDEN.

THE territory of New South Wales extends for a great distance from Sydney, as a centre point, to the northward, southward, and westward. In proposing, therefore, to present the reader with a general description of each of these three great divisions of the colony, beginning, as I have done, with the Western Counties, I shall now take up the Hunter and Manning Rivers; and shall afterwards give similar notices of the Southern Counties and of the Clarence River District to the northward.

Hunter's River rises in the great dividing range of the colony, and waters a large extent of valuable agricultural and pastoral country in its course to the Pacific. In the upper part of its course it receives many tributary streams, each of which has its separate valley, with its agricultural and pastoral population; and lower down, where it is navigable by steamboats, it is joined by two other navigable rivers from the northward, the Patterson and the William. The counties of Northumberland, Hunter, Phillip, and Bligh, are situated on the south side, or right bank of the river; and those of Gloucester, Durham, and Brisbane on the north, or left bank. The area of these seven counties is

15,590 square miles; and their population, on the 31st of March, 1871, was 79,801. With these counties, however, there are connected the squatting districts immediately beyond them, of Bligh, Liverpool Plains, New England, and Gwydir, comprising an area of 59,096 square miles, with a population of 37,955.

Until the year 1831, when steam navigation was inaugurated in the colony by the late Captain Biddulph, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy,¹ the only means of communication between Sydney and Hunter's River was either by a weekly packet called the "Lord Liverpool" (which I have known, however, to be detained within the Heads of Port Jackson, by a strong north-easterly wind, for thirteen days together), or by a toilsome journey of three full days on horseback over the intervening mountains; having made the passage myself repeatedly both ways. Now, however, one steps on board the steamer, after a full day's work of any kind in Sydney, at 11 p.m., to do the ocean part of the passage during the night, and arrives at Newcastle next morning in time for the railway train up the river; passing the towns of Maitland, Singleton, Musselbrook, and Sccone by the way, and reaching the present terminus, Murrurundi, 120 miles from Newcastle, about noon. In short, steam has been the making of the district of Hunter's River, both by sea and land.

One of my visits to this district, of which I wrote a few rough notes at the time for the colonial press, was made at a very remarkable period, viz. in the year 1851, shortly

¹ Captain Biddulph, who brought out and for some time commanded the "Sophia Jane," the first steamer that ever floated in Australian waters, was a politician of the liberal school, and on one occasion, when addressing a great public meeting in Sydney, some Australian wit, alluding to Captain B.'s occupation, called out, "Stop her," to the great amusement of the meeting, which burst out in a shout of laughter that terminated the Captain's speech.

after the discovery of gold in California, but before its discovery in Australia. The following was the commencing paragraph of the series :—

"Sydney, Nov. 6th, 1850.—Left Sydney, by the 'Rose' steamer, for Morpeth, at 10 p.m., and reached Newcastle, after an agreeable passage, at 6 a.m. of the 7th. Very pleasant to have the ocean part of the voyage disposed of during the night. Newcastle harbour quite a contrast now to what it has ever been till very recently for twenty-five years past. *Formerly*, like the Dead Sea, no sign of life upon its still waters, except when a solitary steamer was passing to and fro between Hunter's River and the capital; *now*, full of life and motion, flaunting with *stars* and *stripes*. It was thought remarkable last century that the earthquake at Lisbon should have been felt in the West Indies; but it is surely still more remarkable that the shaking of earth in their tins and cradles by the gold seekers of California should have been so sensibly felt as it is here on the remote coast of Australia, across the boundless Pacific, and in the opposite hemisphere. No fewer than twenty American ships loading coals for San Francisco at present in this harbour—it is a most interesting sight. Only think of these vessels transforming such solitary isles as we have hitherto been accustomed to consider Tahiti, Pitcairn's Island, the Sandwich Islands, and the Navigators' Islands, of the vast Pacific, into the mere half-way houses of one of the great commercial highways of the world. This is decidedly one of the most wonderful revolutions of this revolutionary age."

Hunter's River rises in the coast range of mountains to the westward, and is navigated by numerous sailing-vessels and steamers for twenty miles to Morpeth; for although it is navigable for a considerable distance higher up, its course above that point is so tortuous, like the Links of Forth, in Scotland, that the navigation terminates at Morpeth. The Hunter has two navigable tributaries, the William and the Patterson; and on all the three rivers there is a large extent of alluvial land of the first quality for cultivation, besides much valuable pasture-land in all the seven counties which the district comprises, as well as in the pastoral regions beyond. The quantity of live-stock owned in the counties

and pastoral districts together up to the 31st March, 1873, was as follows:—

Horses	96,363
Horned cattle	944,543
Sheep	4,805,671
Pigs	53,284

The town or city of Newcastle, which, as I have stated above, is the capital of the coal-mining industry of the colony, and has a population of 7581, connected chiefly with the coal-mines and the shipping, is finely situated for a shipping port, the ground rising gradually to a moderate elevation from the harbour; but the country around it, for a considerable distance, is generally sterile and uninteresting—sandhills and swamps—the principal production of the locality being obtained from underground. There is a remarkable island, somewhat like the Craig of Ailsa on a smaller scale, called Nobby's Island, at the entrance of the port. Between that island and the main land, there was formerly a passage for small vessels; but a mole or break-water has been constructed by convict labour, between the island and the main, to break the force of the surges of the Pacific in southerly gales, and to confine the current of the river to the principal channel. In quarrying down the summit of Nobby's Island, to obtain material for the break-water, and also to form a level plateau for the erection of a lighthouse on the highest part of the island, the workmen were digging, when I visited the spot many years ago, through a seam of coal of two or three feet thick, which appeared from the deck of the steamboat like a black ribbon along the face of the rock, at a great elevation above the sea.

There can be no doubt that New South Wales will, sooner or later, become a great manufacturing country; and it is equally evident that Newcastle will become the principal seat of its manufacturing industry as the twofold

advantage for this purpose of an inexhaustible supply of coal, and a harbour fit for shipping of any size; while the surrounding country, in addition to the collieries and the copper-smelting establishment already mentioned, can supply to any conceivable extent the raw material for all the textile manufactures of Europe, viz. wool, cotton, flax, hemp, and silk.

There was an iron foundry and a salt work for some time in this vicinity, but both of them have been discontinued for years past. There was also a cloth manufactory of considerable extent in successful operation for several years at Stockton, a village on the opposite shore; but the buildings having been unfortunately destroyed by fire shortly before the gold discovery, it was not resumed; both proprietor and workmen having gone to the "diggings."

When Newcastle was a penal settlement, there had been a windmill erected on the highest land near the town. It had been disused for many years; but it had stood so long, and was so conspicuous an object from the sea, that it had become a land-mark for mariners, and was indicated as such on the charts of the coast. Not adverting to this circumstance, however, the local government had ordered the materials of the old windmill to be sold by auction, and they were purchased accordingly by a Scotch builder in the place for 12*l*. No sooner, however, had the sale taken place, than the harbour-master, another Scotchman, who had not been consulted in the matter, and was not aware of the circumstance till it was too late, wrote to the Government, recommending that the sale should by all means be annulled, on account of the importance of the land-mark to navigation. But the wily builder, hearing of the circumstance, and not willing to forego his bargain, quietly collected a number of the colliers of the vicinity, one evening, after they had finished their daily task underground, who, marching up to the windmill in a body, pulled it down, and carried off the

materials at once. Immediately thereafter, a shipmaster, a stranger on the coast, running along the land for Newcastle, and not finding the windmill where his chart directed him to look for it, was either kept at sea for days together, or had to return to port without reaching the place of his destination. The Government had therefore to erect an obelisk of solid masonry on the site of the old windmill, the cost of which was necessarily much greater than the sum realized from the sale of the materials, while it was much less conspicuous as a land-mark for mariners.

There was a large expenditure incurred, within a comparatively recent period, in the erection of a military barrack in the town of Newcastle, with all the expensive appendages of quarters for everybody, which such an establishment implies. But as there are now no longer any soldiers from the mother country in the colony, the buildings, which were previously going to wreck, have recently been converted into an asylum for idiots and imbeciles. A similar but much more extensive suite of buildings had just been completed in the city of Sydney, at a cost of about 50,000*l.*, which was paid by the colony on the condition of getting the site of the Old Barrack, which belonged to the Ordnance Department, when an order came out from home to reduce the military establishment of the colony to a Governor's guard. At the general election of 1851, I suggested to the citizens of Sydney that the New Barracks, which were thus in great measure rendered unnecessary, should be converted into a Lunatic Asylum, as an appropriate memorial of the wisdom of the projectors. I learned during my short stay in the city of Charleston, in South Carolina, in America, that the British barracks of the old colonial régime in that city had been converted into a College for the education of youth after the War of Independence; the Americans finding that they had no further use for such an establishment after they had achieved their freedom and indepen-

dence. In short, barracks are required for keeping a colony down—not for raising it up.

To the northward of the Port of Newcastle, the land trends away, for about thirty miles, to the eastward, forming a deep bight on the coast, immediately to the northward of which is Port Stephen; and still farther north, in latitude 32°, is the entrance to the Manning River. Port Stephen is the head-quarters of the Australian Agricultural Company, one of the numerous joint-stock companies of the year 1825. It was incorporated by Royal Charter, having a capital of one million sterling; and it obtained from the Government of the day a million of acres of land in the colony, free of cost, with as much convict labour besides as the Local Government could spare, and a monopoly of all the coal-mines of the country for thirty years! It is fortunate, however, for the public that these magnificent schemes of individual aggrandizement at the expense of whole communities, very rarely succeed. The Australian Agricultural Company put forth at its outset the fairest professions and promises, as to what it was going to do for the colony, not forgetting even the Aborigines, who were to come in for a share of the benefit. I have never heard, however, of its doing anything for the colony in any way. In short, cupidity was its mainspring; its management was long characterized by the sheerest folly,² and the natural result was failure and disappointment. The land was originally selected between Port

² Only think of the town of Carrington, in Port Stephen—the Company's principal town, where much English money has been uselessly expended—being situated where vessels cannot come within a mile of the shore! If there had been no deep water within the port, there might have been some excuse for this; but there was a place where the deep water is close to the land, and fresh water, which was not found in the first instance in that locality, has since been obtained there by boring.

Stephen and the Manning River; but Sir Edward Parry, the well-known Polar navigator, who was the Company's Commissioner for a time, recommended that the land immediately on the coast, which was generally worthless, should be surrendered to the Crown, and a new selection made of part of the grant; and this recommendation being acceded to by the Colonial Office—a thing which would never have been done in the case of a private individual, and would never have been allowed under Responsible Government, the injustice of the measure to the colonial public having been enormous—about 600,000 acres of fine pastoral country were selected on the Peel River and Liverpool Plains in the interior, in lieu of a similar extent on the coast. The following, therefore, was the result of the arrangement which the Company succeeded, on the recommendation of Sir Edward Parry, in effecting with the Government of the day :—

Agricultural Company's Estate at Port Stephen and across to the Manning River	437,102 acres.
Ditto, at Liverpool Plains, a tract of an oblong shape	249,600 "
Ditto, at the Peel River, a tract of irregular out- line	313,298 "
Total	1,000,000 "

Since this iniquitous arrangement was effected, a separate and subsidiary company, called the Peel River Company, was formed for the purchase of the Peel River Estate from the original Australian Agricultural Company, and this purchase was effected accordingly. That estate, which was for some time very indifferently managed, and yielded but a very small return to the shareholders, is now, I am happy to state, under very superior management; the present commissioner, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at Tamworth, on the Peel River, one of the western rivers of the colony,

in the month of March last (1874), being a grandson of Governor King of the olden time of the colony. The town of Tamworth, which I have just mentioned, is one of the most prosperous and rising towns in the interior of the colony, although it suffers greatly, in the way of material advancement, from the whole of the fine land on the opposite side of the Peel River being the property of the Peel River Company. It is 1200 feet above the level of the sea, and is thirty miles farther up the river than Murrurundi, the present terminus of the railway. Its population is 1511. It is in the centre of a great wheat-growing country, and it adjoins one of the northern gold-fields.

The Liverpool Plains Estate, which is still the property of the old company, and is called Warrah, is now also under the efficient management of a Scotch commissioner, — Craik, Esq. It is a splendid property. The district of Liverpool Plains is separated from the county of Brisbane by a range of mountains, called "The Liverpool Range." The Plains comprise an area of 16,901 square miles, and are 921 feet above the level of the sea; the principal entrance from the eastward is by a pass, discovered by the late Alan Cunningham, Esq., and called by him "Pandora's Pass."

The following is a description of the Liverpool Plains country, from an unpublished letter of Dr. Leichhardt's. Cassilis, the starting-point, is in the Upper Hunter District.

"I went up the Liverpool Range (from Cassilis) with a gentleman who was going to establish a sheep-station at the Range. All the spurs and secondary ranges, as well as the Liverpool Range itself, are entirely flat at the top. You climb up with great difficulty over loose, sharp-edged, hard rocks, and you find yourself, to your agreeable surprise, on a plain so smooth that you might drive in a carriage. The plain of the Liverpool Range is almost three miles broad. The rock becomes frequently cellular, and the cellules are filled with white crystalline substances — different species of zeolithe. The principal trees are the bastard box, the white gum, and a gum which the sawyers called black butt at Piri, but which they call forest

mahogany here. It resembles much the stringy bark in its external aspect.

"Next day I descended into the Liverpool Plains—an extensive level country, showing a black soil covered with grass, with *Compositæ* and *Leguminosæ*, formerly the bottom of a large inland lake, with hills and ridges rising like islands. These hills are either sandstone or basalt. The sandstone is coarse and soft. The water and atmosphere have washed the sand off, and formed a layer of sand from one to three miles broad round the principal mountains."

The town of Maitland, which is twenty miles from Newcastle, has a population of 5079, with schools and places of worship of a suitable character for the different religious denominations into which such a colonial population is, as usual, divided. It has been repeatedly subjected, however, to one of the greatest calamities that can afflict any country—the result of the utter want of common sense, and the grossest incapacity on the part of the Local Government of the olden time. I have already observed that one of the most important functions of a Colonial Government in such countries as the Australian colonies and New Zealand, is the selection of proper sites for the future towns of these colonies. Now in the case of a navigable river like the Hunter, leading up towards its source through a rich and extensive agricultural and pastoral country, it would surely have suggested itself to any person possessed of the smallest modicum of common sense, that a town would very soon be urgently required at the head of the navigation, especially when that point was at so very suitable a distance from the port at the mouth of the river as twenty miles. But the peculiar urgency of the case in this instance arose from the fact that the River Hunter, like most of the Australian rivers, is subject at irregular intervals to fearful inundations, and that there is the utmost danger in any human habitation being placed within the reach of such inundations.

Now, at the very head of the navigation of Hunter's River,

there was a plateau on its right bank, beautifully situated, and of sufficient extent for a large town, as well as high above the reach of all inundations, while for miles around in almost all directions, the country was subject to floods. But without the slightest consideration for the future welfare of the colony, this plateau of elevated land was recklessly granted away by Sir Thomas Brisbane to E. Close, Esq., an ex-lieutenant of the navy, who had emigrated to the colony at that early period with an order for a grant of land of two thousand acres from Earl Bathurst, then Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. Close, as a nautical man, was well aware of the prospective value of such a site, and no blame could be imputed to him for availing himself of the folly and blindness of the Government.

The mistake, however, that had been committed, or rather the prodigious blunder that had been made, was discovered soon after Sir Thomas Brisbane had left the colony. The Government were then urgently solicited by merchants and storekeepers connected with the district to fix upon a proper site for a town in that locality; and, as Mr. Close's grant was unanimously fixed on as the one best suited for the purpose, that gentleman was requested to surrender it to the Government for the future town. Mr. Close was not an unreasonable man: he was quite willing to surrender his grant to the Government for an equal extent of land in whatever other locality he might choose to select it; but he asked, as he was surely justly entitled to do in such circumstances, for what he considered a reasonable compensation for the surrender he was required to make. And on this paltry question, as to how much the Local Government should pay Mr. Close for the surrender of his grant, General Darling kept higgling with that gentleman till the proposed arrangement was broken off; neglecting all the while to fix upon another site for the town, till the patience of the people concerned was utterly exhausted. Meanwhile

first one, and then another and another pitched his tent and erected temporary buildings at all hazards on the flooded land, which, I recollect perfectly, was then called *The Swamp*. All this occurred during the first three years of General Darling's administration—in 1826, 1827, and 1828.

Such then was the origin of the town of Maitland, or rather of West Maitland, which was the chief sufferer under the floods that ensued, although East Maitland did not escape. The Government of the day could not pretend ignorance as to the nature of the floods of the Hunter. There had been one in the year 1820, which had reached the eaves of the only house (Molly Morgan's, a widow) then on the swamp, and it has since been calculated to have risen on that occasion 37 feet above high-water mark in the river. The first prodigious blunder, therefore, that was made in the case was made by Sir Thomas Brisbane, in giving away to a private grantee the land which he ought never to have alienated, but held sacred for the public. The second blunder was that of General Darling, in not giving Mr. Close the amount, whatever it may have been, that he asked for the surrender of his grant at Morpeth. This will surely not be disputed when I add in the words of E. O. Moriarty, Esq., Engineer in Chief for Harbours and Rivers in New South Wales, in his Report on the Floods of 1864 and 1867, that, "By these floods it was estimated that 35,000 acres of land were inundated, four hundred families reduced to destitution, and injury to the amount of 150,000*l.* inflicted on the district from loss of crops and stock, and damage of various kinds." There had been a very large contribution raised both in New South Wales and in the neighbouring colonies for the sufferers by these floods; and, after relieving with the utmost care and economy all the more distressing cases that presented themselves, there was a considerable surplus lodged in the banks for future cases of emergency of a similar kind. Such a

case occurred from a flood during the present year, in which the distress and destitution at Maitland were so great, that at a meeting of the Floods Relief Committee, of which I happen to be a member, held in Sydney on the 10th of April last, the day before I left the colony on my present visit to England, there was voted for the sufferers in West Maitland the sum of 150*l.*, in addition to 700*l.* previously voted from the surplus in the banks. There has thus been entailed upon the colony, through the inexcusable blundering and mismanagement of two of our earlier Governors, a mass of poverty and destitution that ought never to have existed, and that will hang like a millstone about its neck for all future time.

In its course up the valley of the Hunter, the railway passes through the towns of Singleton, forty-nine miles from Newcastle, with a population, including its district, of 6699; of Musselbrook, eighty miles from Newcastle, with a population of 3616; and Scone, ninety miles from Newcastle, with a population of 3793; reaching the present terminus at Murrurundi, 120 miles from Newcastle, with a population of 4143. The scenery along the line is occasionally both interesting and beautiful, and the towns of Musselbrook and Murrurundi are particularly so; the latter reminding me of the Psalmist's description of the site of Jerusalem, in the Scotch metrical version of the 125th Psalm :—

“ As round about Jerusalem
The mountains stand alway.”

For the first fifteen or twenty miles by water from the mouth of Hunter's River, the land on either side is generally low, swampy, and sterile, though for the most part thickly covered with timber; but higher up, and along the banks of the two tributary streams, the soil for a considerable distance from the banks is entirely alluvial, and of the highest

fertility, and the scenery from the water exceedingly beautiful. Let the reader figure to himself a noble river, as wide as the Thames in the lower part of its course, winding slowly towards the ocean, among forests that have never felt the stroke of the axe, or seen any human face till lately but that of the wandering barbarian. On either bank, the lofty gum-tree or eucalyptus shoots up its white naked stem to the height of 150 feet from the rich alluvial soil, while underwood of most luxuriant growth completely covers the ground; and numerous wild vines, as the flowering shrubs and parasitical plants of the alluvial land are indiscriminately called by the settlers, dip their long branches covered with white flowers into the very water. The voice of the lark, or the linnet, or the nightingale, is doubtless never heard along the banks of the Hunter; for New South Wales is strangely deficient in the music of the groves. But the eye is gratified instead of the ear; for flocks of white or black cockatoos, with their yellow or red crests, occasionally flit across from bank to bank; and innumerable chirping parroquets, of most superb and inconceivably variegated plumage, are ever and anon hopping about from branch to branch. I have been told, indeed, that there is nothing like interesting natural scenery in New South Wales: my own experience and observation enable me flatly to contradict the assertion. There are doubtless numerous places throughout the territory uninteresting enough, as the reader may conceive must necessarily be the case in situations where the prospect of a settler's cleared land is bounded on every side by lofty and branchless trees: but in many parts of the territory, both to the northward and the southward of Sydney, both beyond the Blue Mountains to the westward, and for many miles along the Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers that wash their eastern base, I have seen natural scenery combining every variety of the beautiful, the picturesque, the wild, and the sublime,

and equalling anything I had ever seen in Scotland, England, Ireland, or Wales.

The following pastoral, by an Australian poet, will show that there is something to captivate the admirer of nature in the woods and wilds of Australia, and will also afford the reader some idea of the rural scenery on the banks of Hunter's River and its tributary streams :—

ODE TO YIMMANG WATER.*

" On Yimmang's banks I love to stray
 And charm the vacant hour away,
 At early dawn or sultry noon,
 Or latest evening, when the moon
 Looks downward, like a peasant's daughter,
 To view her charms in the still water.

There would I walk at early morn
 Along the ranks of Indian corn,
 Whose dew-bespangled tassels shine
 Like diamonds from Golconda's mine,
 While numerous cobs outbursting yield
 Fair promise of a harvest-field.

There would I muse on Nature's book,
 By deep lagoon or shady brook,
 When the bright sun ascends on high,
 Nor sees a cloud in all the sky ;
 And hot December's sultry breeze
 Scarce moves the leaves of yonder trees.

Then from the forest's thickest shade,
 Scared at the sound my steps had made,
 The ever-graceful kangaroo
 Would bound, and often stop to view,
 And look as if he meant to scan
 The traits of European man.

There would I sit in the cool shade
 By some tall cedar's branches made,

* Yimmang is the aboriginal name of Patterson's River, one of the principal tributaries of the Hunter.

Around whose stem full many a vine
 And kurryjong⁴ their tendrils twine ;
 While beauteous birds of every hue—
 Parrot, macaw, and cockatoo—
 Straining their imitative throats,
 And chirping all their tuneless notes,
 And fluttering still from tree to tree,
 Right gladly hold corrobory.⁵

Meanwhile, perch'd on a branch hard by
 With head askance and visage sly,
 Some old Blue-Mountain parrot chatters
 About his own domestic matters :
 As how he built his nest of hay,
 And finish'd it on Christmas-day,
 High on a tree in yonder glen,
 Far from the haunts of prying men :
 Or how madame has been confined
 Of twins—the prettiest of their kind—
 How one's the picture of himself—
 A little green blue-headed elf—
 While t'other little chirping fellow
 Is like mamma, bestreak'd with yellow :
 Or how poor uncle Poll was kill'd
 When eating corn in yonder field ;
 Thunder and lightning !—down he flutter'd—
 And not a syllable he utter'd,
 But flapp'd his wings, and gasp'd, and died,
 While the blood flow'd from either side !
 As for himself, some tiny thing
 Struck him so hard, it broke his wing,
 So that he scarce had strength to walk off ;
 It served him a whole month to talk of!⁶

⁴ The kurryjong is a tree or shrub abounding in alluvial land, the inner bark of which is used by the natives for the manufacture of a sort of cord, or twine, of which they make nets, bags, &c.

⁵ Corrobory is an aboriginal word, and signifies a noisy assemblage of the aborigines : it is also used occasionally in the colony to designate a meeting of white people, provided their proceedings are not conducted with the requisite propriety and decorum.

⁶ Parrots and cockatoos (the latter especially) are very destructive to the growing corn, and are sometimes shot by the settler or

Thus by thy beauteous banks, pure stream !
I love to muse alone and dream,
At early dawn or sultry noon,
Or underneath the midnight moon,
Of days when all the land shall be
All peaceful and all pure like thee."

On one of my visits to Hunter's River, I crossed over on horseback to its two principal tributaries, the Patterson and the William, or as they were called by the aborigines, the Yimmang, and the Dooribang, spending a day on my way at my late brother's residence at Dunmore, Patterson's River. Mr. Lang's estate of Dunmore consisted originally of a grant from the Crown of 1000 acres to an elder brother, who died in the year 1825. To this there were subsequently added by purchase, from a neighbouring proprietor, 1500 acres additional, making altogether about 2500 acres, or four square miles, on Patterson's River, which, in that part of its course, is navigable for the largest vessels; the alluvial land on its banks being of the richest description although within reach of occasional inundations, and the indigenous vegetation most luxuriant. The course of the river being rather circuitous, it forms the boundary of the property for five miles. Hunter's River, into which the Patterson empties itself about three miles farther down, forms the other boundary for a short distance from a point at which the two rivers approach within 200 yards of each other, and then diverge, forming a peninsula of 1100 acres of the richest alluvial land; the isthmus being my brother's boundary towards the peninsula. This peninsula has formerly been a lake, and been converted into solid land, in the course of successive ages, by the deposits from both rivers in seasons of inundation; for the former proprietor of the peninsula has told me that in digging a well on the land his servants *in flagrante delicto*. Of course the Australian parrot cannot be supposed to understand the mystery of fire-arms yet so well as a European bird.

he had found quantities of charred wood at a depth of nine feet under the present surface, or about the present level of the rivers. My brother's property comprises about 1500 acres of alluvial land, including the dry beds of several lagoons; the rest being forest or grazing-land. Under the convict system of former years, Mr. Lang farmed pretty extensively, having usually about 300 acres under wheat, and employing about forty convict servants with a hired overseer. Subsequently he used to let his land in small farms, of various sizes from 20 acres to 150 acres, to a reputable free emigrant tenantry, who cultivated grain and other agricultural produce for the Sydney market, which the advantage of steam navigation enabled them to do with great facility. The land lets readily in this way, according to the supposed value, at from ten to twenty shillings an acre of yearly rent. The property has a population of about 300 souls; with a steam flour-mill of fourteen-horse power on the river bank, a Presbyterian church, and a school under the Board of Education. The last time I visited the school, it had seventy-six pupils, all of whom but three were the children of the tenantry on the property.

The town of Patterson, a few miles up the river from Dunmore Bridge, is very picturesquely situated, but it ought certainly to have been a mile or so higher up the river at the head of the navigation. The loss which the district will sustain in all future times from this inexcusable blunder, on the part of the Local Government of the time, is quite incalculable. Precisely the same thing was done here as at Maitland; there being highly eligible sites for commercial towns in both localities at the head of the navigation; but the land in both cases was in private hands when the towns were projected—at Morpeth in those of E. Close, Esq., formerly M.L.C., and at the Old Wharf, on the Patterson, in those of an officer's widow, Mrs. Ward. It was natural for these parties, on finding that they had got

possession of eligible tracts of land, to stand out for a good price when they understood that the Government, which ought never to have alienated such lands except for towns, wished to buy them back; and it was folly in the extreme for the Government to refuse them the price they asked, even had it been ten times more than it was. But the Government refused, in both cases, the reasonable prices which were asked for the only proper sites in both localities; and the community will have to suffer for that folly in all times coming.

Patterson's River is not only a superior grain-growing country; it is equally famous, as I have stated above, for its vines and tobacco. The late Hon. Mr. Park, M.L.C., an extensive proprietor on the upper part of the river, and a nephew of the great African traveller Mungo Park, had a vineyard of not less than thirty-five acres.

Mr. Park's, as well as Mr. Lang's vineyard, was planted in the rich alluvial deposit on the banks of the Patterson River. In the year 1837, I observed a whole series of vineyards in a somewhat similar situation on the Rhine, in the Grand Duchy of Nassau; and I was rather surprised at the time to find the vine cultivated in such a soil and situation, as I had been given to understand that it preferred a light sandy or gravelly soil on the slopes of hills, like those of the Johannisberg, Hochheimer, and Rudesheimer vineyards, along the course of that classical stream. But Mr. Schmid, my brother's *vigneron*, assured me that the locality was well and judiciously chosen, as indeed it must have been, when he was satisfied with it. The hills in the county of Durham are generally of trap formation, and their *débris*, which forms the alluvial lands on the banks of the Patterson and William's Rivers, must be a good soil for vines.

Mr. Schmid, I may add, showed me a single vine when at Dunmore, of which he had just weighed the produce, after having unloaded it of its burden. It weighed

44lbs; which, at the wholesale rate of three half-pence a pound, would amount to 5*s.* 6*d.* for the produce of a single plant! In short, the agricultural capabilities of this country are great beyond all calculation, and squatting is evidently destined, at no distant period, to be fairly eclipsed by agriculture. At all events the idea that an acre of vines may yet be found as profitable as a thousand sheep, is no absurdity.

The town of Patterson has not advanced as it ought to have done from the great advantages of its situation, as being near the head of the navigation of a noble river, and in the midst of a grain-growing, vine-growing, and tobacco-growing district, although its present population is 2561. This has probably arisen from another piece of governmental wisdom, which the locality exhibits; for instead of holding the purchasers of town allotments bound to erect buildings of some kind upon these allotments, within a limited period, the township fell into the hands of a few speculators, at the rate of 5*l.* an acre, for which the moderate price of 75*l.* was afterwards asked, and of course asked for the most part in vain. In short, the class of persons for whom the establishment of a town was peculiarly desirable, viz. mechanics of all descriptions, shopkeepers, &c., have been virtually prevented from purchasing allotments in the town, and erecting houses for themselves. Notwithstanding all these serious drawbacks, however, Patterson cannot fail, eventually, from its commanding situation, to be an inland town of very considerable importance.

The road to Dungog, on William's River, leads off to the right a little way beyond Patterson; but like many others who have been travelling in the same direction, I took the road to the left, and only found out my mistake after I had ridden up the Patterson nine miles beyond the point at which I ought to have turned off. The discovery

of having eighteen miles added to a day's journey of sufficient length already, has rather a disheartening effect upon a traveller, besides deranging his plans; but there was no help for it in the present instance, and I had just to make the best of my way back to the right road, and commence my journey to Dungog afresh. I lost other four miles by taking the wrong road a second time in a subsequent part of my route, and it had been quite dark for upwards of an hour and a half when I reached Dungog, after a ride of upwards of fifty miles, including these two awkward additions.

Dungog is finely situated for an inland colonial town, and it cannot fail, at no distant period, to become a place of importance. There is much alluvial land of the first quality for cultivation within ten or twelve miles of it, both up the river and down; and as land of this character is generally found in detached patches, with a larger or smaller extent of pretty good pasture adjoining it, it is peculiarly adapted for the settlement of an agricultural population; and many reputable families of this class have accordingly settled within a moderate distance of the town during the last twenty years.

The country has a hill and dale character, which pleases the eye, and the Dungog mountain is of considerable elevation, while its sides afford good pasture in most seasons.

Much of the available land in the district of Dungog is still in a state of nature, and the rich brushes on the river banks used to abound till lately with cedar of superior quality, most of which has been cut down years ago. C. L. Brown, Esq., J.P., one of the oldest colonists in the district, with whom I had long been acquainted, and whose hospitality I experienced during my short stay, although he has since passed away from this mortal sphere, rode out with me to one of these brushes on his estate, to see the

process of cedar-cutting, and in particular, to see a remarkable tree of that description, the largest Mr. B. had ever seen. It was 9 feet in diameter, where it had been cut through with the cross-cut saw, and 29 feet in circumference at the ground. It was perfectly sound throughout, and was estimated to yield 30,000 feet of timber. Mr. Brown used to sell the timber to a contractor at 1*l.* per thousand feet, payable on the spot. The big tree was therefore worth not less than 30*l.* The ground on which this noble tree grew had been bought by Mr. B. from the Government at 5*s.* an acre,⁷ and several sections, or square miles, which he had purchased on the same terms, had been entirely paid for from the cedar growing on the land at the time of the purchase.

The cedar trade used to give employment to a considerable number of sawyers, who were principally old hands, and who, I am sorry to add, were by no means patterns of virtue, either in regard to temperance, or to anything else at all creditable to the individual. On the contrary, they too frequently spent the high wages they earned in scenes of beastly intemperance—setting all the decencies and proprieties of civilized life at defiance. I rode up with Mr. Brown to the miserable bark-hut in the bush where a pair of sawyers and their families were domiciled. One of them was an old hand, a relict of the olden times of the colony, who, I understood, had exhibited in his whole character and conduct a perfect disregard of everything reputable and virtuous. His mate, who, I was sorry to find, had been following his bad example, although at the time but a recently arrived free emigrant from England, was a remarkably good-looking young man. I was surprised to find that both he and his wife, a tidy little English woman, recognized me as an old acquaintance,

⁷ Upwards of forty years ago, when the minimum price was 5*s.* an acre.

having both been present at a lecture I delivered on the capabilities of the colony as a field for emigration, in the town of Leeds, in England, in the year 1853. It was one of the largest meetings I had addressed on the subject in England, and was most enthusiastic. The young man had been a clothworker at home, and his father, who had died young, and left his affairs in questionable hands, had had a cloth-factory of his own. He had taken up his present occupation at his own hand, allured by the high wages which it offered; but it was evident he had been going fast down hill, from the bad company into which he had fallen. I asked his wife whether I had told any stories about the colony at Leeds? She acknowledged that I had not, but observed that it was a much rougher sort of life they were leading than she had anticipated. I told her that that was entirely their own fault; for even in their present occupation they might easily make themselves very comfortable if they chose, especially with the high wages they were earning. But if they spent their money in drunkenness, as the husband acknowledged they had been doing, what could they expect but misery and ruin? Mr. Brown and I gave the two sawyers a joint lecture on temperance and the other Christian virtues; the old hand professed to be very penitent, and both promised, at least, to reform for the future.

The cedar trade was, till recently, the principal dependence of this vicinity, and I was credibly informed that it used to bring into the Dungog district not less than two or three hundred pounds a week. Quantities of this valuable timber were discovered from time to time in localities in which its existence had not been suspected before. For instance, an old life-guardsman of Waterloo, then a Wesleyan Local Preacher at Mulcunda, about seven miles from Dungog, had rented a farm from a brother of the late R. Windeyer, Esq., M.C., on the Upper William's River.

Finding a quantity of cedar on the land, he offered Mr. W. 50*l.* for the standing timber, which of course was gladly accepted; but, at the time of my visit, cedar to the value of 300*l.* had been sold off this very land by the tenant, and he had still an equal quantity to sell.

The town of Dungog has a population of 1950; it has a steam flour-mill, a tobacco factory, two or three good inns, places of worship of a creditable appearance for the different religious denominations usually found in the colony, a public school, and a court-house—a very creditable building indeed. At the suggestion of certain of the inhabitants, I caused it to be announced that I should preach in the court-house, which had been granted for the purpose by Mr. Brown, as there was at the time no Presbyterian church in the place, in the evening of the day I spent in the district; and, short as was the notice given, I was gratified to find a goodly congregation assembled for divine service. It was a very favourable indication indeed of the character of the place.

Mr. Brown's house, called Cairnmore, from a mountain in Galloway, in Scotland, is beautifully situated on the face of a hill about half a mile from the village. Mr. B.'s estate, comprising much brush-land of the first quality for cultivation, is 6000 acres in extent. The district of Dungog, like that of the Patterson, is admirably adapted for the vine and for tobacco, as well as for the growth of maize; and that the cotton plant will succeed equally well in both, I had ocular demonstration. In short, there is every reason to believe, that Dungog will soon become an important inland town, and that the surrounding district will ere long be the seat of a numerous, industrious, and virtuous agricultural population.

I left Dungog on Friday, 21st March, after first crossing the river to dispense the ordinance of baptism at the residence of a reputable Scotch family, long settled in the dis-

trict. The course of the river is very circuitous, and as there are generally considerable patches of alluvial land on one or other of its banks, there are many small farms of a thriving appearance along its course. About four miles below Dungog, on the road to Clarence Town, I turned aside to the left to see the farm of the Messrs. Baxter, two respectable unmarried Scotchmen, from the neighbourhood of Glasgow, who, I had been told, were the best practical farmers in the district. They merely rented forty acres of alluvial land, of the first quality, from the Messrs. Hooke, extensive proprietors of land and stock on William's River; of which thirty acres were cleared and in cultivation, their rental at the time being only 6*l.* a year. Messrs. Baxter's farm forms a peninsula, being nearly surrounded by the river; and the soil is of surpassing fertility, showing twelve feet deep of the richest mould. I did not ascertain what extent of ground they had had in wheat, or what had been the rate of produce; but the maize crop—the second crop or stubble corn, after the wheat crop—had yielded eighty bushels to the acre. They had two and a half acres of tobacco, the produce of which, amounting to two tons, they had contracted to sell to a manufacturer of the article in West Maitland, at 5½*d.* per lb. Now this is surely as remunerating as squatting, and it shows what is to be expected from the soil in extensive tracts of this country, under a judicious system of cultivation. But the great difficulty here, as elsewhere, is the want of labour. The Messrs. Baxter had had two labourers—free immigrants, brought out in one of the Government ships⁸—but they had been obliged to get rid of them before they had been more than six months with them, as they were persons of such a character that they could not consider their lives safe, so long as they remained on the farm. Mr. Baxter added that

⁸ They were regular Tipperary boys.

if they could only get two or three such labourers as the farm servants of the west of Scotland, they could easily clear 500*l.* a year off their farm.

But what I felt the greatest interest in seeing on Messrs. Baxter's farm, was a small plat of cotton—about a quarter of an acre. It had been planted in rows, three feet apart, the usual distance in South Carolina; but it will evidently require to be planted in rows five or six feet apart in the alluvial land of this country. It had covered the whole of the ground at Messrs. Baxter's, and the plants were evidently much too close to each other. Some of it was in blossom; other plants had pods fairly formed and resembling a small pear; and on one of these plants Mr. Baxter informed me he had counted upwards of 500 pods! He was satisfied it would answer for both the soil and climate of this country admirably. There is therefore a boundless prospect of remunerating employment for an agricultural population in this branch of cultivation on these rivers.

After a ride of twelve miles through the bush, from Messrs. Baxter's—occasionally getting a peep at the river and at the cultivation farms along its course—I reached Clarence Town. Clarence Town is beautifully situated, with a broad river in front, a natural terrace running along its right bank, and a fine range of hills presenting a bold outline on the opposite side. It is not quite at the head of the navigation, but it occupies the point where the road to Dungog strikes the river. Mr. Lowe, the ship-builder, had a vessel on the stocks at his building-yard close to the township, of which the present population is a thousand.

As a heavy thunder shower, which was followed by a gentle rain for an hour and a half, came on just as I had reached the inn at Clarence Town, I had only about an hour and a half of daylight remaining when I started for the Patterson, and it soon got quite dark. The valleys of the Patterson and William's Rivers are separated from each other by a dividing

range of very considerable elevation, which terminates on William's River at Porphyry Point. On the road from Patterson to Dungog, this range is called the Wallaroba Hill. On the road from Clarence Town to the Patterson, it is called the Hungry Hill. I had never travelled the road before ; but presuming that my horse had done so, I left the matter pretty much in his hands. There had been an extensive fire on the mountain, which had quite obliterated the track in some places, and I could not help admiring the sagacity of the animal in finding it again repeatedly when we had lost it, although we did differ in opinion occasionally as to the proper route. It was nine o'clock when I reached a shoemaker's hut in the valley of the Patterson, who proposed that I should give an apprentice boy he had a shilling to mount a horse of his and guide me by the numerous slip-rails to the punt. To this arrangement I gladly assented, and I found my guide an intelligent boy, the son of a free immigrant, recently arrived in the colony. It was ten o'clock before I reached my brother's, and I returned to Sydney by the steamer on Saturday evening.

The squatting districts of Bligh, Liverpool Plains, and New England, comprising a vast extent of pastoral country to the northward and north-westward, are all connected with the Hunter's River district ; their produce, chiefly wool and tallow, being forwarded for exportation to London principally by way of Maitland. Having already given some notice of the Liverpool Plains and Peel River country in connexion with the Australian Agricultural Company, I shall now give a slight notice of the New England District.

The squatting district of New England forms a parallelogram of about 130 miles in length, from south to north, and 100 in breadth, from east to west, comprising an area of 13,100 square miles, or upwards of eight millions of acres. It consists of elevated table-land, rising gradually for thirty miles from the summit of

the coast range to the westward of Port Macquarie, and then falling gradually for a similar distance towards the interior; the more elevated portion of the Plains or Downs being upwards of 3000 feet high, while the surrounding mountains tower upwards to 6000 feet, and are frequently covered with snow. The climate is consequently much colder than on the coast. Maize does not grow, but Cobbett's corn, a small species of maize, called by the Italians *cinquantino*, from its coming to maturity in fifty days, succeeds well. Wheat has never failed. The country is thinly wooded, and well watered by numerous streams with rocky and pebbly beds, like mountain streams in Scotland. The soil is generally light, but very productive; and the country, with its rich crops and green fields, has quite an English aspect. Armidale, the principal town in New England, has a population, by the census of 1872, of 9706. It is 270 miles from Maitland, and 370 from Sydney. There are other towns, however, in the district of rising importance, as, for instance, Warialda with a population of 3656, Wellington with a population of 2648, and Wee Waa with a population of 1699.

Having resolved a few years ago to pay a visit to the Manning River, situated to the northward of the Hunter, I embarked on board one of the Hunter River steamboats at the usual hour in Sydney, and landed early on the following day at Raymond Terrace, a rising inland town, at the junction of the Hunter and William Rivers, with a population of 3015; taking horse from thence to the Manning River. The following pages will therefore form a personal narrative of the journey:—

The land through which the road from Raymond Terrace passes to the northward is generally of a very indifferent character, although remarkably well watered. After the first few miles, it belongs exclusively to the Australian Agricultural Company. On the banks of the

Karua River, at Booral, there is a considerable extent of alluvial land of the first quality, on which a few agricultural families, principally Scotch, were settled as tenants of the Company; and the scenery altogether has as much of the character of a rich English landscape as anything I have seen in the colony. The Commissioner's cottage is beautifully situated on a natural terrace overlooking the river and the cultivated land; and everything about it indicates the residence of an English gentleman of refined taste and in affluent circumstances. In short, the Company has been by no means niggardly in the accommodation it has provided for its agents and *chargés d'affaires* in Australia. At the same time, there is nothing that could reasonably be objected to on the score of expenditure at Booral.

The Company's land from Booral to Stroud,⁹ seven miles, consists of hill and dale, and forms very good grazing-land; the Karua River winding along in a deep valley, and presenting but a very limited extent of alluvial land to the left. Arrived at Stroud a little before sunset, after a ride for the day, which was very hot throughout, of thirty-nine miles.

Friday, Nov. 15.—Stroud is decidedly one of the finest villages or inland towns in the colony; and if the sight of it should not exactly suffice to console the proprietors at home, under the bitterness of feeling which so many annual announcements of *no dividend*, or of only *one per cent.* were likely to create, it will, doubtless, tend to alleviate that feeling considerably; for when people's money is virtually thrown away, as not a little of the Company's has been, it is somewhat consolatory to think that there is something worth looking at to show for it after all. Like

⁹ The population of the Australian Agricultural Company's towns is not given in the last Census—for what reason I do not know.

the 'lang toon o' Kirkaldy,' Stroud consists of a single street; the houses, which are principally neat cottages, being thrown back a considerable distance, on each side, from the line of road, with flower-gardens and shrubberies in front. It reminded me of a New England village, such as I had seen in the States of Connecticut and Massachusetts, rather than of an English village. There is one ornament, however, of which the Americans are very fond, which it wants; I mean a row of umbrageous trees on each side of the wide road or street in front of the little garden fences by which the different allotments are bounded. This is one of the most interesting features of American civilization, and gave me a high idea of the real refinement of the people. In the Northern States, the trees planted in this way are generally plane-trees, oaks, or elms; in North and South Carolina, where the climate is considerably hotter, like that of New South Wales, the "pride of India" is the tree usually employed for this purpose.¹ But in our inland towns—with such wisdom the Australian world has been governed!—there is no room left even for the planting of a row of trees on each side of the principal street! There is not an inch of ground left anywhere, in our inland towns, even for a public square.

There is a considerable extent of good agricultural land in the neighbourhood of Stroud; and one of the thickest seams of coal in the colony crops out a few miles distant. This seam or stratum is upwards of thirty feet in thickness. But the site of the town has not been judiciously chosen after all, and in the event of the Company's expenditure on it being discontinued, there is nothing to keep it up.

Rode from Stroud to Gloucester, one of the Company's agricultural and grazing-stations, thirty miles distant, over a

¹ The white cedar, *Melia Azedarach*.

good pastoral country, of hill and dale, and remarkably well watered. I saw it doubtless in its very best state, for the season has been peculiarly favourable. Gloucester is one of the best sites for an inland town I have seen in the colony.

A range of picturesque mountains, called by the aborigines the Buccans, of about 1200 feet in height, bounds the horizon to the westward. Along the base of these mountains, the River Gloucester wends its way to the northward, leaving a large extent of alluvial land on its right bank, which the Company has cleared and brought into cultivation; the site of the buildings that form the station, including a house of accommodation for travellers, being on a rising ground to the eastward of the alluvial flats. It is altogether a beautiful spot in the wilderness, and there are many such on the Company's estate.

Saturday, Nov. 16.—Started at eight, with a mounted aboriginal native for my guide for the first ten miles. The country for that distance is pretty much of the same character as that which I had passed over on the previous day between Stroud and Gloucester—hill and dale, with occasional flats and good pasture. On this part of the route the Barrington River is crossed twice. It contains a large body of water, reaching nearly to the saddle-girth, and flows with a rapid current. The Barrington rises in the mountainous country towards the sources of William's River. It flows along the base of the range called the Buccans to the westward, and receives the Gloucester River at the northern termination of that range, a mile or two below the Company's station. Still lower down it is joined by the Bowman River; and on all these rivers I ascertained that there was a considerable, although by no means a large, extent of alluvial land, well adapted for the settlement of an agricultural population. The Barrington is one of the principal tributaries of the Manning. It is always running, although subject, like all Australian rivers, to occasional floods. The

black fellow told me that the native name, either of it or of the Gloucester (for I could not ascertain which he meant) was Wittuck, and that of the Manning, Broey-gangallinba. But I could not ascertain afterwards that the natives of the Manning district knew the river by that name, and was told they had various names for it at different parts of its course.

After crossing the Barrington a second time we met two black fellows on foot, and shortly afterwards a third, a servant of the Company, on horseback. From the two pedestrians, Watty, my guide, ascertained that there had been a fight among the aborigines on the Manning River, in which one man had been killed. In describing the fray, and especially the multitude of spears that had been thrown upon the occasion, the black fellow was particularly eloquent, illustrating his narrative by pointing with his own spear in all directions, and using as much gesticulation as a Frenchman. Watty informed me, after we had left them, that both the horseman and the two pedestrians were to wait for him on his return, as he wished "to hear the news." They are a very social people, as unlike the American Indians as possible.

Watty had scarcely taken leave of me, at the ten miles station, to return to Gloucester, when it began to rain in right earnest, and I was very soon completely drenched. The road also, from this point, was one of the worst I had ever travelled in the colony ; with steep ascents approaching almost to the perpendicular, and the path occasionally running along the face of precipitous hills, with the river, which has again to be crossed twice in this part of the route, flowing deep and broad at their base. The rain had also made the clay soil so slippery that I found it dangerous to walk erect, as a single false step might have precipitated me into the river ; and I had frequently to scramble along the best way I could on my hands and feet, dragging my horse behind me. In short, it

was a miserable road *in wet weather*, and I was heartily glad when I found I had cleared the last hill, and got down, although wet and weary, into the valley of the Manning.

The Manning, in the upper part of its course, forms the boundary of the Agricultural Company's estate in this part of the territory ; and there is doubtless a considerable extent of alluvial land within that boundary, as well as on the Barrington and its confluent, available for the settlement of an industrious population. But the whole extent of the land fit for cultivation on the Company's estate of 430,000 acres, in this part of the territory, is comparatively very small. And so also is the extent even of good pasture-land—for I understood I had seen the best of it ; the sterile and worthless quality greatly predominating, especially towards the coast.

Unlike the Hunter, the Manning derives its supplies from perennial sources among the mountains of New England, and therefore never fails. From the great extent of its dry shingly bed, it is evidently subject, like most Australian rivers, to extensive inundations, and must throw an immense body of water on these occasions into the Pacific. I crossed it at a ford which I easily found, and then rode down partly through a thick brush on its left bank, for about two miles, to the house of Mr. Joseph Andrews, now J.P. for the territory, where I received a very cordial welcome, the ride from Gloucester having been twenty-two miles. Mr. Andrews had come out to the colony under my superintendence, as a schoolmaster, in the year 1837. He had acted in that capacity for several years in Sydney, and afterwards at Dunmore, in teaching a school on my brother's property ; but having purchased, at a comparatively low price, the property on which he now resides—an estate of 750 acres with a good house on it and other valuable improvements—he is now one of the resident proprietors on the Manning.

Sunday, Nov. 17.—Got a fresh horse, and started early with Mr. Andrews for Redbank, towards the mouth of the river, where there is a considerable Presbyterian population from Scotland and the north of Ireland. The vegetation on the alluvial land on the banks of the river is superb, and I was happy to learn it is easily cleared and burned off, compared with the labour and cost of clearing similar land on the Hunter. There is an endless variety of vines or creepers and parasitical plants, and the nettle-tree abounds in the thick brushes, and grows to an immense size. It is easily destroyed, however, its interior being quite soft and fungous. Crossed the river a mile or two below Mr. A.'s, and struck into the open forest on the opposite side, to cut off a great bend which the river takes to the left. Had thus to forego the pleasure I anticipated in following the river down, which indeed is scarcely practicable.

After a ride of eighteen miles, reached the house of a highly intelligent and respectable settler from the north of Scotland, whose wife—a woman of superior education and peculiarly engaging manners and disposition, who I learned had been universally esteemed in the district—had shortly before committed suicide during a paroxysm of puerperal insanity, leaving her unfortunate husband with a family of five children in extreme desolation. Expected to have crossed the river in a boat at this locality, and then crossing an isthmus on foot, where it sweeps round a peninsula with a long circuitous course, to have gone down to Redbank by water; but uncertainty as to whether we should find a boat at the place where we should have wanted it, induced us to perform the rest of the journey, about twelve miles by land, also on horseback. It was a very disagreeable ride, for it rained heavily, and I soon got completely drenched once more. My reception at Redbank, where, from the unfortunate circumstance of my letter from Sydney having been forwarded by mistake to Port Macquarie, my visit had

not been expected, was gratifying in the highest degree. I took up my abode at the house of a respectable Presbyterian settler from the north of Ireland, who had been six years on the Manning, and was farming upwards of 100 acres of the richest alluvial land, which he had purchased on its bank. The usual bush fare was immediately got ready, and a large fire, which speedily blazed on the hearth, was not more necessary to dry our habiliments, than it was from the cold of the day. Preached in the evening to a congregation hastily assembled, but consisting almost exclusively of Scotch and north of Ireland Presbyterians settled on the adjoining farms. There are now Presbyterian churches in central localities at Wingham and Tahree, on the Manning River, of which the resident minister is the Rev. John Bannatyne, formerly of Picton in the province of Nelson, New Zealand, where I happened to meet with him in the year 1873. As he was then leaving that locality I invited him to New South Wales, where he is now settled on the Manning River.

Monday, Nov. 18.—The rain all gone, and the weather delightful. Preached again at nine a.m., to a congregation considerably more numerous than that of the preceding evening.

Understanding that there had been some excitement in the district on the subject of the cultivation of cotton, and that one or two proprietors of considerable tracts of land, had been recommending it to their tenants, I had announced my intention to deliver a lecture on the subject in the course of this day at Tahree, a central locality about five miles up the river by water; and I learned accordingly in the course of the morning, that a good many of the Redbank people were going up to attend it. To save them this trouble and inconvenience, however, I proposed to deliver the lecture, as far as they were concerned, on the spot, which was cheerfully acceded to, and I did so accordingly.

It is a noble country for that species of cultivation ; and as much of the wheat crop had been destroyed by rust, I took occasion to show how much less precarious a cotton crop was likely to prove in that climate than wheat, and how much more profitable. The Manning is just within the 32nd degree of south latitude, precisely in the same latitude as that of Charleston, in South Carolina, one of the principal cotton-growing states of America, in the opposite hemisphere. The Redbank people expressed themselves much gratified at my visit, and at the little effort I had thus made to supply them with information on a subject on which they were all apparently anxious to obtain it. Mr. Andrews and Mr. M'Lean (another fellow-traveller for the last twelve miles) having to return by land with the horses, I was rowed up the river in a boat to Tahree, by one of the Redbank settlers, a tall, stout, intelligent farmer from the north of Ireland.

The Manning is a noble river in the lower part of its course, and I am confident there is a much greater extent of land of the first quality for cultivation on its banks, and on those of its numerous tributaries, as well as on the islands towards its mouth, than there is altogether on the Hunter, Patterson, and William Rivers. It is navigable about the same distance inland as these rivers ; but there is this great difference between the two districts, that whereas a large proportion of the land on the Hunter towards the coast is comparatively worthless, the good land on the Manning extends to the very heads, and is almost all within reach of steam navigation.

The Manning had two entrances, a southern and a northern, the two channels being separated by Oxley and Mitchell Islands, which again are separated from each other by a navigable channel ; Mitchell Island being towards the ocean, and Oxley Island inland. The southern entrance, however, has for some time past been filled up

and the northern channel is of course the only one used. There is a bar at its mouth, as in most Australian rivers; but that bar, I was informed, would prove but a comparatively slight obstacle in the way of steam navigation, as it is more practicable at present than that of almost any other barred river on this coast. Redbank is opposite Oxley Island to the southward, and is only about five or six miles from the southern entrance. There is much land of the first quality in this vicinity, as well as on all the islands, for there are others, besides those I have mentioned, higher up. Mr. Atkinson's estate of 15,000 acres, formerly the property of Hart Davies, Esq., M.P., is on the northern channel, opposite Oxley Island. It is called by its native name, Cundle Cundle. Mr. A. has already formed a small agricultural settlement upon it, like that of Redbank, and has had the estate surveyed and laid off recently in small farms. There is all the difference in the world, however, between the condition of small farmers, settled on their own land, like the people of Redbank, and a mere tenancy such as Mr. Atkinson proposed to form. And it was one of the most gratifying circumstances imaginable in the case of the Manning district, that there was then a large extent of land of the first quality on that river in the hands of the Government, which was shortly thereafter in the course of settlement by small proprietors from other parts of the colony, chiefly from Hunter's River. One of the farmers of Redbank, felicitated himself not a little, in conversing with me on the subject, on the circumstance of being no longer a tenant; which, he said, he had been for six years after his arrival in the colony at Hunter's River. If a man cannot say of this country, "This is my own, my native land;" let him at least be able to say of a few acres of the best of it less or more, "This is my own, my purchased land." Not fewer than nineteen families of this class were then expected to settle at the Manning after harvest. A

large proportion of these families, as well as of the actual population of the district generally, consisted of emigrants from Scotland and the north of Ireland. In short, there are few districts in the colony of which the population promised to be of so peculiarly healthy a character—I mean socially, politically, and morally—as that of the Manning River.

Arrived at Tahree, formerly the property of W. Wynter, Esq., R.N., now that of his son-in-law, — Flett, Esq., about two p.m.; and after dining with Mr. Wynter and his family, delivered a lecture or address on cotton cultivation in a neat schoolhouse then recently erected in the vicinity of Mr. Wynter's residence. The notice had been very short, and the Redbank people were absent for the reason I have mentioned, but the attendance was very fair notwithstanding.

The estate of Tahree, consisting of 2560 acres, or four square miles, forms a peninsula, bounded on three sides by the river. It consists almost exclusively of alluvial land of the first quality, thickly wooded. Mr. Wynter's house was on a natural terrace towards the isthmus, and the view from it over the cleared land, the noble river, and the dense forest slowly disappearing under the axe of civilization, was decidedly one of the finest in these colonies. In the lower part of its course, the river is generally from a quarter to half a mile in width, and the land on the alluvial flats on its banks is of surpassing fertility. When I stated, on the authority of Mr. Bucknell, of Newtown, that four acres in cotton, at the rate of product he had himself realized, would be sufficient to maintain an industrious family, Mr. Flett told me that he had himself calculated that two acres of flooded land on the Manning would be sufficient for the maintenance of a family—that he had himself seen the produce of maize on the river actually measured at the rate of 100 bushels an acre—that two crops could be

reaped in a year—and that any conceivable amount of food for man, and for pigs and poultry could be raised even on that small extent of ground by an industrious family.

Tuesday, Nov. 19.—Mr. Flett, who is a native of Caithness, in Scotland, and who has a fine, healthy Australian family growing up around him, walked with me in the morning across the isthmus to where Mr. Andrews was to meet me with a boat on the opposite side of the peninsula. On crossing the river we ascended what is called a creek, but must unquestionably have been the river itself at some earlier period; a peninsula of alluvial land, which it forms with the river, having evidently been an island, and been united with the mainland by what Brother Jonathan calls a *raft* of fallen timber blocking up one of the channels in the time of flood. One of the distinguishing features of the Manning is the number of creeks or rivulets flowing into it; on most of which, as on Dingo, Bobo, and Burrell Creeks, there is a greater or less extent of alluvial land fit for settlement.

Rode up with Mr. Andrews, and Mr. M'Lean to Mr. Andrews' house, eighteen miles, arriving about noon. Then, after halting for an hour, mounted my own horse again and resumed the road to Gloucester, Mr. Andrews giving me a further convoy of a few miles. Towards evening, when I had done nearly forty miles, and was getting rather tired, and riding with a slack rein, I was suddenly aroused from a reverie into which I had fallen at the moment by the fall of my horse. He had been trotting gently down a very slight declivity, and I was thrown with some violence over his head on the road, but providentially escaped a second time almost unhurt. The sun was slowly descending behind the Buccans as I reached Gloucester, rather stiff, and a little lame from my fall.

Wednesday, Nov. 20.—Left Gloucester at eight a.m., stopped nearly an hour at the cottage of a Scotch family in

the service of the Company by the way, and reached Stroud at two p.m., after a ride of thirty miles. Had given notice the previous Thursday that I should return to Stroud this day and perform divine service at four p.m. in the court-house, which had been granted for the purpose, there being a considerable number of Scotch families in the vicinity either as tenants or servants of the Company. Preached accordingly at the hour appointed, the attendance being considerably better than I anticipated, one family having come ten miles. Whatever part of the colony I happen to visit, I always find families or individuals who have either been members of my own congregation in Sydney, perhaps for years together, or who have come out to the colony through my instrumentality; and from such persons, especially when comfortably settled in the world, as is generally the case, I always experience a cordial reception.

Very hospitably entertained by Dr. Douglas, a genuine Scot, and Mr. Corlette, of the Company's service at Stroud. Visited a Scotch family after service, about two miles from Stroud, where a young woman, a daughter of the family, was reported to be dying. There were several Scotch families, tenants of the Company, in the neighbourhood, very comfortably settled. They were mostly from the Highlands of Scotland.

Thursday, Nov. 21.—Rode to Booral, seven miles, and rested an hour or two (for the day was excessively hot), at Mr. Renwick's, a tenant of the Company, occupying a tract of alluvial land on the Karua River. There were three or four Scotch families very comfortably settled here, the Company being excellent landlords. Mr. Renwick himself is a thorough-bred farmer from the south of Scotland.

Left Mr. Renwick's at one o'clock. The day was excessively hot, and I felt the next twenty miles the most fatiguing part of my journey. Arrived at Ballyearry,

residence of the late H. Caswell, Esq., R.N., my brother's father-in-law, where I again experienced a very hospitable reception, towards five p.m.

Friday, Nov. 22.—Rode down to Raymond Terrace, ten miles, with Mr. Caswell, early in the morning. Got into the steamer, as she passed, and arrived at Sydney, after a pleasant voyage, at seven p.m.

I had thus, during the sixteen days of my absence—besides the voyages, of about 100 miles each, to and from Hunter's River—ridden 400 miles chiefly under a hot sun; preached six times; lectured or delivered addresses six times; been thrice drenched with rain, and twice thrown from my horse. The object of my tour was chiefly clerical, to ascertain the spiritual condition of certain districts, and to make arrangements for the settlement of ministers in the interior; and in this respect it was quite successful. The lectures were intended merely to do a little good, of a different kind, by the way.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES.

*“Sic ego desertis possim bene vivere sylvis,
Qua nulla humano sit via trita pede.”*

PROPERTIUS.

*“Thus could I live in sylvan wilds
Where human foot had never trod.”*

THE counties to the southward and south-westward of the metropolitan county of Cumberland, are those of Camden, Argyle, St. Vincent, Murray, and King ; the united areas of which amount to 10,886 square miles, and their population to 64,632. But with these counties are connected the squatting districts, or unsettled territories beyond the boundaries in these directions ; viz. Maneiro Plains, the Murrumbidgee and the Lower Darling, comprising an area of 115,232 square miles, that is, an extent of country equal to the whole area of the United Kingdom, with a population, however, of only 41,888 persons, that is, less than one for every $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. The quantity of stock in these counties and squatting districts together, up to the 31st March, 1873, was as follows, viz.:—

Horses	86,195
Horned cattle	640,967
Pigs	88,714
Sheep	7,789,659

The eastern division of the county of Camden, or the district of Illawarra, and the county of St. Vincent, being both situated on the sea coast, are connected with the capital by the great highway of the Pacific ; there being a

regular steam communication between Sydney and Wollongong, the chief town in the district of Illawarra, as well as with all the other rapidly rising towns to the southward. This section of the southern counties has therefore very little connexion with the country to the westward, which is separated from it by the coast range of mountains ; the land along the coast being but little elevated above the ocean level, while the country behind the coast range is generally 2000 feet above the level of the sea. The communication with both of these sections of country by land is by the Great Southern Road and Railway as far as Campbelltown, an inland town, thirty-three miles from Sydney.

For the first thirteen miles the Great Southern Road from Sydney is also the Great Western Road across the Blue Mountains, the two great roads diverging from each other at the Parramatta Junction. For the next nine miles, to Liverpool, the road is exceedingly uninteresting ; the country on either side being a dense forest, and the soil for the most part poor and unproductive. Perhaps the most interesting object on the old road is the Lansdowne Bridge, a handsome structure of cut stone, erected by convict labour during the administration of Sir Richard Bourke, under the able superintendence of the late Mr. Lennox, a Scotch architect and engineer, whom I have already mentioned. The bridge consists of a single arch, of 110 feet span. The town of Liverpool is situated at the head of the navigation of George's River, which empties itself into Botany Bay. Formerly the town was but indifferently supplied with fresh water, as the tide flowed to a considerable distance above it. But a substantial dam having been thrown across the river, the level of the water has been raised seven feet above the dam, and the salt water below it prevented from mingling with the fresh, while a passage has also been formed to the opposite bank. Liverpool was founded and named—rather absurdly, I think—by Governor

Macquarie. It used to be a dull, lifeless, stagnant sort of place, as different as possible from the great commercial city whose name it so ambitiously bears ; for after an existence of more than half a century, the population of the Australian Liverpool is only 1338. One is never disappointed in these Australian colonies, on arriving at such a town as Parramatta, or Wollongong, or Jamberoo, or Berrima, or Gundagai, or any other town with an aboriginal name ; for as in all likelihood there is no other place of the same name on the face of the earth, there is no other town that one can have a right to compare it with. But when one goes to "Liverpool," or "Windsor," or "Richmond," forsooth, and finds it a small insignificant village, he cannot help saying to himself,—

" O what a falling off is there ! "

and the place actually looks much worse than it really is, simply from its unfortunate name.

I confess I never had my classical ideas and associations so rudely broken in upon, as when, in travelling by the steamboat up the beautiful Hudson River, from New York to the city of *Troy*, the boat stopped successively at two paltry American towns, which I was told were *Rome* and *Athens*! I did not feel at all disappointed with *Troy*; for besides that we knew much less of the original, the American edition of the city of Priam was a really respectable and thriving town of 20,000 inhabitants—well planned, well built, and eminently prosperous as a place of trade, as may be supposed from the fact of its being at the time not more than thirty years old. But I felt absolutely offended at the sort of classical sacrilege which Jonathan had perpetrated upon the memory of the great cities of Rome and Athens, by giving their venerable names to his two insignificant villages on the Hudson. I actually thought it had been done for the express purpose of lowering antiquity

and the classics in the estimation of the young American, and teaching him to say, somewhat contemptuously,—

“Urbem quam dicunt Romam, Melibœe, putavi
Huic nostræ similem.”¹

Besides, there is often a positive inconvenience in this system of colonial nomenclature. For example, a letter containing a bank-note was put into the post-office at Sydney, addressed to somebody at Liverpool; but as the letter did not specify where Liverpool was situated, it was thrown, in the hurry of business, into the mail for England, where, after having arrived in due time, and been refused by every person of the name it bore in the great city of Liverpool, it was opened at the General Post Office in London, and found to be intended for some person in Liverpool of New South Wales, whom it reached at last after having first made the circuit of the globe.

Insignificant, however, as it is, my earliest recollections of New South Wales are indissolubly connected with this locality. On my first arrival in the colony, in the year 1823, a younger brother of mine was in charge of the Commissariat at Liverpool, which was then a considerable dépôt both for convicts and troops. He occupied a brick verandah cottage in the town, with a little plat of garden-ground, and a white gate in front; his whole establishment consisting of a convict man-servant. The next cottage, exactly like it, was occupied by the officer in charge of the detachment at Liverpool—Mr. M'Nab, of the 3rd Regiment or Buffs—whose establishment consisted of his orderly, one of the soldiers of the Regiment. Mr. M'Nab used to dine occasionally with my brother; and on one of my visits to perform divine service in the town, I was invited, along with my brother, to dine with Mr. M'Nab, who was a

¹ “I guess, mister, the city folks call Rome ain't half like this of our'n.”—*American Translation.*

genuine warm-hearted Scotch Highlander. His orderly, however, had but recently arrived in the colony, and was not initiated at the time into the mystery of colonial cookery ; and, accordingly, when a piece of excellent colonial ration-beef which he had roasted for our dinner was uncovered on the table, it was found to be all alive ! There is a large fly in the colony which, in summer, is sure to alight upon fresh meat, especially when roasted, if not carefully covered, and to deposit instantaneously a numerous offspring of live maggots upon its surface. This was one of those accidents which are not uncommon in colonial life, even in the best regulated establishments, and it only served to afford us a little amusement at the expense of the poor orderly, who easily supplied us with a substitute for the roast beef in a "cold collation."

Mr. M'Nab was only an ensign at the time, although the oldest in the British army. He had belonged originally to the Scotch Brigade, a corps which was raised in the beginning of last century, during the wars of the great Marlborough, but which had always refused to take a particular number as one of the regiments of the Line. Towards the close of the last war, however, when all such corps were obliged to take a number, the Scotch Brigade, although one of the oldest Regiments in the service, had to take one of the highest numbers ; and when the army was reduced, after the general peace, it was consequently one of the first to be disbanded. Mr. M'Nab, however, had shortly before got into the service again, from half-pay ; but he was then still only an ensign. As one of the officers of the old Scotch Brigade, he still retained, as a cherished recollection of his former corps, part of its old silver plate which the officers had divided among themselves when it was finally broken up.²

² Mr. M'Nab afterwards went to India with his regiment, where he attained the rank of Captain. He then returned to England, sold

All these recollections crowded into my memory as the mail drove rapidly, on the occasion of my last journey to the southern interior, before the introduction of Railways, past the two brick verandah cottages, with their little gardens and white gates in front, in the dull town of Liverpool.

The distance from Liverpool to Campbelltown is thirteen miles ; and along the whole intervening line of road there are neat cottages at irregular intervals belonging to respectable resident proprietors, the appearance of which greatly enlivens the scenery. About five miles from Liverpool the road skirts along and then crosses the rich and romantic valley of Bunbury-curran, whose relationship to the family of *Trap* is sufficiently obvious. In the immediate neighbourhood of Campbelltown, the country, which consists of a succession of hills and dales, has much more of an English aspect than most other parts of the territory, and the proportion of cleared land is very considerable ; Campbelltown having been the centre point to which the efforts of Governor Macquarie were long and systematically directed, in attempting to form a body of small farmers out of the emancipated convict population of the colony. The district of Campbelltown, however, was long unfortunately situated in regard to water ; the soil of the surrounding country being strongly impregnated with alum, which renders the water brackish. But the evil was not without remedy ; and a substantial proprietor in the neighbourhood, the late Mr. Thomas Rose, of Mount Gilead, deserved well of the colonial public in demonstrating the efficacy of that remedy, and the practicability of its general application. In the neighbourhood of Campbelltown, and in many other parts

out, and, having a taste for agricultural pursuits, rented a farm near Callander, in Scotland—his native place—where he died many years since, much regretted. My brother died of an inflammatory fever, in the year 1825, during my own absence in England.

of the colony, the country is intersected by numerous water-courses, which in rainy seasons contain running streams of considerable size, but which are quite dry at all other times. Across one of these watercourses, Mr. Rose formed a strong embankment sufficiently broad at the surface to serve the additional purpose of a cart-road from bank to bank. The result equalled his highest anticipations ; the embankment permanently dammed up a large quantity of water of excellent quality, sufficient to afford an abundant supply at all seasons for his farming establishment, besides forming an ornamental sheet of water in the vicinity of his residence. Water dammed up in this way, or even collected in large basins formed for the purpose, is not liable to become putrid in New South Wales, as it frequently does in similar circumstances in Great Britain. There are many farms in the colony that have no other water than what is thus collected from the surface during heavy rains in natural basins, or *water-holes*, as they are called by the colonists ; the water in such holes or basins remaining pure and wholesome to the last drop. It would be difficult to account for the formation of these natural basins or reservoirs, some of which are of great depth, and have more the appearance of artificial than of natural productions ; but their existence in all parts of the territory is a blessing of incalculable value to the colonial community.

About three miles beyond Campbelltown to the right is the dairy-farm or estate of Glenlee, the property of the late William Howe, Esq., J. P., an old colonist, of the year 1818. There is a large extent of cleared land on the Glenlee estate, the greater part of which was laid down with English grasses ; the paddocks being separated from each other by hedges of quince or lemon-tree—the usual but seldom-used colonial substitutes for the hawthorn. The country is of an undulating character, and the scenery from Glenlee House—a handsome two-story house, built partly of brick

and partly of a drab-coloured sandstone—is rich and agreeably diversified. On the opposite bank of the Cowpasture River, which formed the boundary of Mr. Howe's estate, is the much more extensive estate of Camden, the property of the late John Macarthur, Esq., the patriarch of Australian wool. His only surviving son, the Hon. Sir William Macarthur, Member of the Legislative Council of the Colony, has erected a handsome mansion on the Camden estate, and the extensive gardens of the property are a model to the colony. The vineyard at Camden is also one of the most extensive and best managed in the country. There are many other estates, however, besides those I have mentioned, belonging to respectable resident proprietors in this part of the colonial territory.

The direct distance from Sydney to the seaport town of Wollongong, in the district of Illawarra, or as it is frequently called, the *Five Islands*, from five small islands on that part of the coast, is not greater than forty-five miles; and the communication with the capital, except for travellers on horseback, is managed chiefly by water. The intervening country being intersected, however, by numerous ravines, as well as by several arms of the sea, the road to Illawarra describes two sides of an equilateral triangle, of which the coast line forms the base—running for a certain distance to the south-westward, and then turning to the south-eastward after heading the ravines. The distance by land is therefore about seventy miles, the road to Illawarra diverging from the Great Southern Road at Campbelltown.

The population of Campbelltown does not exceed 1000. It has places of worship—all of a creditable exterior—of the Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Wesleyan communions for the town and district; and the inhabitants are now plentifully supplied with water in the way suggested to them by the late Mr. Rose.

From Campbelltown to Appin, on the road to Illawarra,

a distance of eleven miles, the country continues to exhibit the same pleasing appearance of fertility, and the proportion of cleared and cultivated land continues very considerable.

For many a long mile from Appin the country is exceedingly sterile and uninteresting; but, on gaining the summit of the Illawarra mountain—a lofty and precipitous range running parallel to the coast, and supporting the elevated table-land to the westward—the view is indescribably magnificent: for all at once, the vast Pacific Ocean, stretching far and wide to the eastward, bursts upon the view, while almost right under foot it is seen lashing the black basaltic rocks that form its iron boundary to the westward, like an angry lion lashing the bars of his cage with his bushy tail, or dashing its huge breakers on the intervening sandy-beaches in immense masses of white foam, and with a loud and deafening noise. In short, after the long and uninteresting ride from Appin, the scenery from the summit of the Illawarra mountain is overpoweringly sublime.

The district of Illawarra consists of a belt of land of about 150,000 acres in extent, enclosed between the mountain and the ocean; increasing in breadth to the southward, and though generally thickly wooded in its natural state, of exuberant fertility. The descent of the mountain, which is probably about fifteen hundred feet high, was formerly the most precipitous I have seen used in the colony for a road; but there is now an excellent road (formed by convict labour before the transportation system was discontinued), along the face of the mountain, and the descent is comparatively easy.

I had occasion to visit the district of Illawarra along with my late brother, Mr. A. Lang, M.L.C., of Dunmore, who had never been in that part of the colony before, in the month of May, 1836, before the present road was formed. After leaving the stage-coach at Campbelltown, we were detained for several hours before we could procure hor-

for the remainder of our journey, and it was consequently nearly dark ere we reached the summit of the Illawarra mountain. We attempted the descent, however, in the darkness; but after having got down a little way, we found it too hazardous either to proceed or to turn back, and were accordingly obliged to spend the remainder of the night, which was extremely cold, on the mountain, sitting at the roots of trees, for nearly twelve hours, with our horses' bridles in our hands.

There used to be a resting-place for travellers ascending the mountain by the old route, about half-way up, called *the big tree*: it was a dead tree of immense size, the internal parts of which had been consumed by fire, although it was still about a hundred feet in height. My fellow-traveller and myself, on another visit I made to the district, entered into the hollow, into which there is an entrance on one side as wide as a church-door, with both of our horses; and, although the latter were both of the largest size of riding horses in the colony, I perceived that there was room enough for a third rider and his steed. My fellow-traveller told me, indeed, that on a former journey, he had actually been one of three horsemen, all of whom had, together with their horses, been *accommodated* within the *big tree* at the same time.

The vegetation of the district of Illawarra is very peculiar, and has more of a tropical character than that of other districts in the colony considerably farther to the northward. This may arise partly from its being sheltered from the cold westerly winds of the winter months, by the mountains that run parallel to the coast. I presume, however, it is owing chiefly to the nature of the soil, which is a beautiful black mould, consisting of disintegrated trap rock, the district exhibiting various indications of a volcanic origin. The peculiarity I have just mentioned is observable even on the mountain, where the rich variety of the vegetation contrasts

beautifully with the wildness of the scenery; the fern-tree shooting up its rough stem, of about the thickness of the oar of a ship's long-boat, to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, and then suddenly shooting out a number of leaves in every direction, each four or five feet in length, and exactly similar in appearance to the leaf of the common fern or *braken*; while palms of various botanical species are ever and anon seen shooting up their tall slender branchless stems to the height of seventy or a hundred feet, and then forming a large canopy of leaves, each of which bends gracefully outwards and then downwards, like a Prince of Wales' feather, the whole tree strongly resembling a Chinese mandarin's umbrella. Baron Hügel, an Austrian nobleman, who resided for some time in New South Wales during the year 1834, devoting himself to scientific researches, remarked that the scenery and vegetation of the district of Illawarra strongly reminded him of scenes he had visited in the interior of Ceylon.

The species of palm most frequently met with in the low grounds of Illawarra is the fan-palm or cabbage-tree; and in some parts of the district there are grassy meadows, of fifty to a hundred acres in extent, quite destitute of timber, and surrounded with a border of lofty palms of this most beautiful species. Another species of palm, abounding in the district, and equally graceful in its outline, is called by the black natives the *Bangolo*. The cedar of Illawarra I have already mentioned; the nettle-tree, which is also met with in the *brushes*, is not only seen by the traveller, but occasionally felt and remembered, for its name is highly descriptive; and the sassafras with its odoriferous bark abounds in the jungles. The lofty *eucalyptus* and the iron-bark-tree, the swamp-oaks and the weeping mimosas of the other parts of the territory, abound also in Illawarra; and the undergrowth of wild vines, parasitical plants, and shrubbery, is rich and endlessly diversified.

The town of Wollongong is beautifully situated on the plain between the coast range of mountains and the sea. It has places of worship of a very creditable character in point of architecture for the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic communions for the town and neighbourhood ; and a Public School of superior character, which was established as a model school for the district during the administration of Sir Richard Bourke. The harbour—such as it is—was constructed at great expense, about the same period, by convict labour ; there being a natural ledge of black basaltic rocks projecting diagonally into the Pacific close to the town, behind which a basin has been excavated and defended by solid masonry.

The population of Illawarra is chiefly agricultural, growing grain and potatoes, with much dairy produce, for the Sydney market; the rich indigenous grasses of the country, mixed with white clover which has completely overspread the district, being admirably adapted for the feeding of dairy cattle.

The district of Illawarra is therefore occupied chiefly for dairy farming, for which it deservedly bears a superior character; the amount of dairy produce of all kinds which it exports to Sydney by steamers plying along the coast being very great.

The export of butter alone, for consumption in Sydney, amounted in value, many years ago, to not less than 1000*l.* per week. At the same time, a settler had produced, from his bees, about two tons of honey, which he had sold to a brewery in the district at 3*d.* per pound.

I have already observed that another line of railway, besides those already existing, has been projected, and will doubtless be very soon carried out, as the present Government are favourable to the project, between Sydney and the towns of Wollongong and Kiama, and the Shoalhaven River, along the coast to the southward. This very

beautiful part of the country, which has hitherto been regarded as the garden of the colony, and which forms the district of Illawarra, lying between the coast range of mountains and the Pacific. These mountains, as I have stated above, abound in coal, which is dug out by means of simple adits into the face of the mountains; and one of the objects of the projected railway, besides the service for passengers and goods, is to convey the coal of Illawarra to the deep water in the harbour of Port Jackson, behind the town of Sydney, as the harbours on this part of the coast are of an inferior character. The population of the town of Wollongong is 1297, and that of the district 5699; the population of the district of Kiama being 5750.

On leaving Campbelltown, the course by the railway for the next nineteen miles, through a fine pastoral and agricultural country, is to Picton. The situation of the town, or rather township, of Picton, which adjoins the beautifully picturesque estates of the late Major Antill, J.P.—an old and highly respectable colonist, who had been Major of Brigade under Governor Macquarie—and of the late George Harper, Esq., of Abbotsford, reminded me strongly of that of Stuttgart in the kingdom of Wirtemberg, being a deep hollow almost completely surrounded by pretty steep hills.

After passing a few whinstone hills beyond Picton, and crossing Myrtle Creek a few miles farther on, where the ground is of an undulating character, and the soil and water excellent, this formation suddenly disappears, and is succeeded by a miserable sandstone country, which is traversed by the Bargo River and called Bargo Brush. Beyond this, however, the trap again appears as the principal constituent of the Mittagong Range of mountains, and the country improves rapidly towards the town of Berrima, to which there is a very gentle ascent for many miles.

Berrima, the county town of Camden, is eighty miles from Sydney, and is situated, somewhat like Picton, in a hollow, on the Wingicarribbee River. It is 2096 feet above the level of the sea, and the climate is sensibly different from that of the low country towards the coast. The gooseberry and currant grow here, which they do not do at Sydney, while the potato and the apple acquire a sort of European character which they rarely exhibit on the coast; but maize and the orange, which succeed well below, refuse to grow in this higher region. The children also about Berrima have fine ruddy faces, as at home, unlike the pale faces of Sydney and the low country generally.

Although the country a few miles from Berrima is of a superior character, it is very indifferent for a considerable distance around the town; and I confess, notwithstanding the undeniable fact of its possessing an abundant supply of good water, I was at a loss to know why a town should have been placed in such a locality at all. In a thinly peopled country without manufactures, the first requisite in fixing the site of an inland town is plenty of good land in the neighbourhood, and the second plenty of good water. In most cases the water can be brought to the land, if it is not naturally abundant in the immediate vicinity, with comparatively little trouble or expense; but the land can never be brought to the water. *Terra firma* and "running water" are phrases that have much meaning in this point of view, and they ought not to be forgotten on such an occasion as the fixing of a site for an inland town. No forcing on the part of a Government can create a town in an improperly chosen locality, as the case of Liverpool sufficiently proves; and the principal part of the population that will collect in such a place will in all likelihood consist of publicans of an inferior character, and the other useless drones that contrive to pick up a

subsistence in some way or other along the highways of the colony, by preying upon honest people who are travelling to and fro in the way of their respective callings. This is remarkably the case in Berrima; for although the Government have expended a very large amount in the erection of a gaol and a court-house in the so-called town—where no such buildings ought ever to have been erected—the population, which does not exceed 475, consists chiefly of a few publicans and their dependents, who seem to have nothing to do but to look out for the next carriage or bullock-dray that may be passing along the road.

About seven miles from Berrima, at a considerable rivulet called by the horrid name of Black Bob's Creek, there is a pretty large extent of really good land and plenty of excellent water; and a few miles off to the left there is a fine tract of agricultural country at a place called Bong Bong. In such localities, villages and towns rise up naturally and without forcing on the part of the Government; and there is accordingly a considerable agricultural population in both of these localities.

At twenty-eight miles from Befrima is Marulan,³ another incipient town situated at the turning-off of the road to Bungonia, Braidwood, and Queanbeyān; in which direction there is a large extent of very superior country both for cultivation and grazing, situated on the high table-land behind the Coast Range of mountains. The road to these districts turns off to the left or eastward—the road to Goulburn to the right or westward; the distance to Braidwood being about sixty miles.

The country from Marulan to Goulburn is for the most part sterile and uninteresting; but the scene improve wonderfully on reaching the heights that look down upon the plain of Goulburn, which is really a fine tract

* Pronounced Maroolan, with the accent on the second syllable.

country ; being fifteen miles long, with an average breadth of eight miles. It has evidently been at some former period the bed of a lake, and the ridges that run out into it from either side have quite the character and appearance of headlands. The stones with which it is covered in particular spots, or that are dug up in making excavations to a great depth, consist of quartz pebbles, rolled stones, and shingle, as if from a sea-beach or the bed of a river. I have already observed that there is a series of plains, of this peculiar character, some more and others less of alluvial formation, along a vast extent of the mountainous portion of Eastern Australia; their general elevation being about 2000 feet above the level of the sea.

The town of Goulburn, the present terminus of the railway, is 134 miles from Sydney, and is 2171 feet above the level of the sea. It is the capital of the county of Argyle, and is admirably situated ; being in the centre both of an extensive agricultural and of a much more extensive pastoral country. It is beyond all comparison the finest town in the southern interior of New South Wales, and the buildings generally are of a much more substantial character, as well as of a much finer appearance, than those of most inland colonial towns. It is a busy, bustling place for its size—quite a contrast to Berrima—its population being 4453.

Goulburn is the residence and headquarters of a bishop of the Church of England, as also of a Roman Catholic bishop, with the usual accompaniment of a conventual establishment ; the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic being much the largest communions in the colony. The Presbyterians and Wesleyans have also places of worship of a creditable character, besides other minor Protestant denominations. The schools of Goulburn, both public and private, deservedly bear a high character, and the Mechanics' Institution is a credit to the community. The press of Goulburn

has always stood high in the colony, and been uniformly and highly influential for good.

The railway from Goulburn is now progressing rapidly towards Yass, about sixty miles distant, and, on reaching that station, it is to be carried on with all convenient speed to Wagga Wagga on the Murrumbidgee River, 315 miles from Sydney ; and from thence to Albury on the Murray, about 400 miles from Sydney. It will there meet with the line from Melbourne in Victoria, and complete the route between the two colonial capitals. The Colonial Government have been authorized by Parliament to borrow the necessary funds for the construction of this line, as well as for the projected extensions of the other two Grand Trunk Lines of the colony—to the Northward and Westward ; and there is now no doubt of their all advancing with rapidity. There is a very beneficial moral influence which the construction of these lines of railway has in the Colonies, in shutting up most of the low public-houses along the different routes, and thereby preventing much useless expenditure and much riot and dissipation ; besides enabling better disposed people to make their journeys to and fro much more economically, as well as much more speedily than they could possibly have done before.

On reaching the extremity of the Goulburn Plains, the road crosses a ridge of rather indifferent forest-land, of about eight miles across. This ridge separates the Goulburn Plains from the Breadalbane Plains, which are not quite so extensive as the former, but of the same character. There is a fine tract of pastoral country around these plains ; but, as their elevation is not less than 2278 feet above the level of the sea, and as they terminate to the south-westward in an extensive swamp, which throws up a sort of exhalation during the night, I found the cold biting piercing, although it was the night of the 17th of January, the hottest season of the year.

The first stage on this part of the course is to Mudbilly or Millbank, eighteen miles. It is a fine open pastoral country. The next stage—to Gunning—is fourteen miles. Gunning consists of a fine flat of considerable extent, very suitable for growing wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and fruit of the British varieties, and surrounded by a tract of grazing country of rather an inferior character. It appears to be on the same level as Breadalbane Plains, and the cold during the night, even in the midst of summer, on these elevated levels, is intense. I was shivering and benumbed when we reached the inn in the grey twilight, and a large fire which was kindled immediately on the hearth was very acceptable. I had travelled the road repeatedly before in daylight, but on my last journey to the southward, I had to avail myself of the night mail from Goulburn to Yass.

From Gunning to Yass, a distance of twenty-eight miles, the country is generally uninteresting, but affording good pasture in many places. Towards Yass Plains there is a rapid descent from the higher level of perhaps 800 feet: for the Yass River, which is not much below the level of the plains adjoining it, is only 1311 feet above the ocean level.

The Yass Plains were discovered by Messrs. Hovell and Hume, on their overland expedition of discovery to Port Phillip, in the year 1824. They are from nine to twelve by five to seven miles in extent, and have a beautiful appearance from the heights that bound them in the direction of Goulburn. They are, properly speaking, rather downs than plains; the country for a great distance around being of limestone formation, and disposed into fine grassy hills, thinly covered with wood, and fertile vales clear of timber. The stones on these plains have the same rounded water-worn appearance as those on the plains at Goulburn, and evidently from the same cause—their having been subjected, in some former condition of the surrounding country, to the action of running water.

Within a mile or two of Yass, on the Sydney side, are the residences of Henry and Cornelius O'Brien, Esqs., J.P., and of Hamilton Hume, Esq., J.P., all now, like so many of my other colonial contemporaries, deceased. They are all handsome cottages, with splendid gardens attached; particularly that of Mr. H. O'Brien, whose grounds are very tastefully laid out. Mr. Henry O'Brien was in two very important respects one of the patriarchs of Australia: he was the father of squatting, and also of boiling-down, two most prominent departments in the rural economy of the country. Mr. O'B. arrived in New South Wales from India, fifty years ago; and his uncle, who was then a merchant and an extensive proprietor in the colony, gave him some sheep and cattle, I believe on credit, to begin the world with in Australia. With these, and the convict servants he required to attend them, Mr. O'Brien struck out far beyond the settled districts of the colony at the time, and sat down on the beautiful plains of Yass, where he erected his bush-hut, cultivated as much land as was necessary to afford grain, potatoes, and vegetables for his establishment, and remained in the comparative isolation of the Great Australian Wilderness—not like Daniel Boon, the American squatter and misanthrope, till civilization came up with him, and drove him farther back into the woods—but till his flocks and herds had increased to such numbers, that he could return to society much wealthier even than the patriarch Job. Mr. O'Brien was for many years an extensive landed proprietor at Yass, and his flocks and herds roamed over a hundred grassy hills in the distance; but his fame as an Australian colonist consisted, like that of the antediluvian patriarch Jabal, in being “the father of such as dwell in tents,” or bark huts, “and of such as have cattle,” and sheep beyond the boundaries.⁴

⁴ I married Mr. O'Brien, who was himself a Roman Catholic, to

From its central situation, Yass is necessarily an important town, and will doubtless advance rapidly when the railway comes up to it : it has now a population of 1167. The plains, or rather downs, around it are thinly, but most picturesquely, covered with "apple-trees," as they are called by the colonists, merely from their resemblance to the European apple-tree in their size and outline, for they do not resemble it in producing an edible fruit. The Episcopilians, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics have all churches at Yass : the minister's field of labour in each case being very extensive and his flock greatly scattered.

At the southern extremity of the town, the Great Southern Road crosses the Yass River, which in summer is an inconsiderable stream, but in winter, or after rain, a large river. About eight miles from Yass the road passes Mount Bunyong or Bowning, and a village of the same name, very well situated. Mount Bowning is a remarkable object in this part of the country, and forms an excellent land-mark both for Whites and Blacks, being visible for fifty miles round. Twelve miles from Bowning is Bogielong, an interesting part of the country, and apparently well adapted for the site of an inland town, as it possesses the two important requisites of good land and good water. The country, from Yass to Bogielong, is an open pastoral country. From thence to Reedy Creek, eleven miles farther, it is rather thickly wooded, although affording good pasture. Reedy Creek is a highly picturesque locality, being surrounded by lofty mountain ranges that postpone the rising, and hasten, in the same proportion, the setting of the sun.

Beyond Reedy Creek, the road for a few miles crosses a succession of ridges of rather indifferent pasture; but at the distance of eight miles it brings us to the valley of the his first wife, the daughter of the late Capt. M'Donald, of the 17th Regiment, whose family were members of my congregation.

Murrumbidgee, the beautiful river—*La Belle Rivière* (for it really deserves the name)—of Australia.

Sir Thomas Mitchell has well observed that each of the great rivers of Australia has a peculiar and distinctive character, which it preserves, with astonishing uniformity, along the whole of its course; and this is remarkably the case with the Murrumbidgee. The course of that river is generally tortuous; its banks are fringed with the beautiful swamp-oak, a tree of the *Casuarina* family,⁵ with a form and character somewhat intermediate between that of the spruce and that of the Scotch fir, being less formal and Dutch-like than the former, and more graceful than the latter; while it ever and anon leaves either to the right or left an alluvial plain almost entirely clear of timber, and generally of a square mile in extent, flanked by venerable trees of the genus *Eucalyptus*, and backed in by verdant ranges, or by an open forest country. And so finely disposed for effect are these ancient-looking trees, that if one were suddenly conveyed from England, without the consciousness of distance, into the middle of these plains, he would conclude that the old lord, who had caused them to be planted about a century or two ago, must really have been a man of taste; and he would naturally be disposed to look out for the turrets of the ancient baronial castle in the first opening of the trees. The first of these plains or flats which the mail-route crosses is that of Jugiong, about nine miles from Reedy Creek, where there is a village reserve remarkably well selected. There is much fine land in this vicinity, and the country looks exceedingly beautiful.

The mail changes horses at Munny Munny, a flat similar to that of Jugiong, situated five miles from the river, and surrounded with grassy hills. Five miles farther is Ke-

⁵ *Casuarina paludosa*.

luck, the nearest point to the Tumut river and the plain of Darbillehra, situated at the point of its junction with the Murrumbidgee. This neighbourhood consists of grassy hills and a fine fertile country, and the intervening country to Gundagai, which is fifteen miles from Munny Munny, is all available for pasture.

Gundagai, with a population of 1908 souls, is situated on one of the flats or plains on the banks of the Murrumbidgee, at the point where the road to Melbourne crosses that river. The Murrumbidgee, I have already observed, rises on the north-eastern face of the Snowy Mountains, and pursues a northerly course as far as Yass, which it approaches within ten or twelve miles, receiving the Yass River into its current. It is then deflected to the south-westward to the point of its junction at Darbillehra with the Tumut River, which descends from the northern face of the mountains about twelve miles above Gundagai, from whence the Murrumbidgee pursues a westerly course till it joins the Hume River, and both form the Murray.

In crossing overland from Port Phillip to Sydney in the year 1845, I stopped for a few days at Gundagai, to perform divine service in this part of the country on the intervening Sabbath; and during my stay I rode up to the plain of Darbillehra, at the junction of the Tumut with the Murrumbidgee, and from thence about thirty miles up the latter river, or rather, one of its tributaries, called the Adjinbilly, a mountain-rivulet, with so tortuous a course that it crossed the route again and again in the course of my journey. The ascent was gradual, but constant, the whole way, and the change of level, as well as of climate, must have been very great from that of the plain. I reached at length the squatting station of the retired military officer, Captain M'Donald, formerly of the 17th Regiment, whom I have just mentioned, and who had for years belonged to my congregation in Sydney. He had

sold out, when the Regiment went on to India, and settled with his large family, like one of the ancient patriarchs, in the midst of his flocks and herds, on the Tumut Mountains. The surrounding country consisted of hill and dale, very lightly timbered, and carpeted with grass. The climate was evidently bracing, and Captain M'Donald and his family were quite reconciled to their situation, living in peace, and plenty, and rural simplicity. On the invitation of my respected friends, I conducted divine service at their station during my stay.

The Tumut traverses a finer country, generally, than the Murrumbidgee; its geological characteristics are limestone and whinstone—the land being equally fitted for agriculture and grazing. From its rapid descent from the snowy mountains, the water of the Tumut retains its coolness to the point of junction with the Murrumbidgee, whereas the latter river, having previously been exposed to the direct rays of the sun in a circuitous course of upwards of 200 miles on a lower level, has got considerably heated; and to a person standing at the point of junction, and placing his hands at the same time in the two rivers, the singular phenomenon is distinctly observable of the one being delightfully cool, while the other is lukewarm. From the plain of Darbillehra, which is of the usual character of the plains on the Murrumbidgee, although of larger extent than most of them, I crossed the Tumut at a ford near its mouth, the water reaching the saddle-girths; and along the Murrumbidgee to Gundagai, I found a succession of these plains, some of which were occupied and in partial cultivation by small settlers, while the beautiful belting of swamp-oaks skirted the river all along.

The Murrumbidgee at Gundagai is as large as the Clyde above Glasgow. It is subject, however, like most of the Australian rivers, to great floods. These, indeed, are frequent, but they are very awful when they do occur. There was such a flood in the month of October,

when the river rose upwards of forty feet above the ordinary level—rising four feet above the floor of the parlour of the inn at Gundagai, and leaving a residuum or alluvial deposit of an inch thick on the flats. The people who had bought town allotments in Gundagai had done so in the belief that the locality was above the reach of floods; and as the place had been surveyed and sold by the Government for a town, they could not suppose that they could possibly be disappointed in that belief. But the flood undeceived them when it came, and they had consequently, after all the expenditure they had incurred on the old site, to memorialize the Government to remove the township to a place above the reach of floods, and to grant them other allotments *there*, in lieu of those they had unwittingly purchased within the reach of inundations. But Sir George Gipps, the Governor at the time, replied that they had purchased their allotments *for better for worse*—alluding, apparently, to the case of marriage—and must therefore do the best they could with their bad bargains, as the exchange they asked for could not be sanctioned! As I can scarcely trust myself with the task of making the proper comment on so heartless a reply, I shall leave the reader to make one for himself.

As the flood-water that had overflowed the original site of the town of Gundagai was back water, and did no permanent damage to the place, besides the temporary annoyance of the immersion, the inhabitants unfortunately clung to the spot, notwithstanding repeated inundations, although not of so serious a character, in subsequent years. But on the 25th of June, 1852, the river came down suddenly with such overwhelming force and volume, as not only to inundate the country for miles around, but to shut up the unfortunate inhabitants from all possibility of escape to the higher grounds, insomuch that out of a population of 250, not fewer than eighty-nine perished in the waters.

The Murrumbidgee pursues a westerly course of nearly 400 miles from Gundagai to the point of its junction with the Hume or Murray. And in the year 1858, Captain Francis Cadell, a gentleman to whom the colony is much indebted for his spirited enterprise, demonstrated, to the great surprise and gratification of the colonists, that it was actually navigable for that distance, by bringing up his large steamer, the "Albury," to Gundagai, and mooring her to the river-banks. The lower parts of the river, as I have stated elsewhere, are now regularly navigated by steamers to and from Echuca, in Victoria, passing down the Murray and up the Murrumbidgee. The reaches of the river are seldom above half a mile in length, and the plains that characterize its valley extend along its banks the whole way down, as well as for 200 miles above Gundagai—the whole of the available land on both sides being either held as squatting stations, or occupied by small settlers and free selectors, who cultivate the land and keep a few cattle besides. Towards the sources of the river the crops are uncertain, from the cold and frequent frosts in the vicinity of the Snowy Mountains; but as Gundagai is considerably below the level of Yass—which is only about 1350 feet above the level of the sea—the banks of the river in that neighbourhood enjoy a climate sufficiently hot for the cultivation of maize. One of the characteristics of the Murrumbidgee, as compared with the rivers farther south, is the fringe of swamp-oaks on its banks. This tree is not found farther south, and it would consequently seem to indicate the commencement of a different climate on the parallel of that river— 36° S.

The Murrumbidgee is now crossed at Gundagai by a noble bridge; and the road, for the first thirty-five miles to Tarcotta Creek, follows the westerly course of the river, presenting a succession of beautiful flats and a most fertile country; ranges of hills, of moderate elevation and well

clothed with grass, hemming in the view on all sides. The prevailing character of the rock from Yass to Tarcoola Creek is a species of schistus, or greenish-coloured clay-slate, of which the laminæ are perpendicular to the horizon, or very slightly inclined. The ends of these laminæ generally protrude a few inches above the surface, and are evidently undergoing the process of disintegration from exposure to the elements.⁶

Tarcoola Creek, on the Murrumbidgee River, is the Halfway Station between Sydney and Melbourne, at which the mails in the opposite directions meet—the two postmen merely exchanging the bags, and returning on their respective beats on the following day. The distance in round numbers is 300 miles from each of the two *termini*. There is a great extent of good land, as well for agriculture as for grazing, in this vicinity.

The mail started from Tarcoola Creek on the way to Albury at daybreak, the course being first south and then S.W. by W. from the Murrumbidgee to the Hume or Murray River. The general character of the country between the two rivers is hill and dale, with extensive plains, bounded by picturesque mountain-ridges, and abounding in excellent pasture. It is quite a fine pastoral country, and is extensively occupied with flocks and herds. Some portions of this tract of country, especially towards the Murray River, are surpassingly beautiful, as well from the undulations of the ground as from the distribution and character of the fine forest-trees that are thinly scattered over its surface, and from the abundance of the pasture.

The first stage on the route from Tarcoola Creek to the Murray River is Kiamba, distant seventeen miles. There was a grazing-station in this locality belonging for many

⁶ This is quite the character of the formation of the gold country in the Bathurst district; the layers of schistus, which are generally harder there, being frequently traversed with veins of quartz.

years to a mercantile house in Sydney, under the superintendence of a respectable Scotchman, of the name of Smith, from the county of Forfar, in Scotland. Mr. Smith had arrived as a free immigrant in 1832, and had married one of his fellow-passengers—a respectable young woman from the old country—and he had been always in the distant interior during the interval. His cottage was a comfortable bush-house, situated on an eminence by the wayside. He had a garden and some ground in cultivation, to raise grain for his family, around it ; and the numerous sheep and cattle of his employers, including, in all likelihood, his own smaller herd, roamed on the hills and plains for miles around.

The mail stopped at this station only to deliver some letters and papers. I was not previously acquainted with Mr. Smith, and did not even know that he was a Scotchman ; but recognizing me on the mail, from having seen me in Sydney, he requested me to baptize his youngest child, which, the postman agreeing to halt for some time, I did accordingly. Mr. Smith informed me that there were several other Presbyterian families in that part of the country who had also children growing up unbaptized ; and, reflecting on the conduct of a minister of his own communion, who had refused to visit the neighbourhood because it was nearly 200 miles distant, he added, with much feeling and with perfect truth,—“The Romish priests are the only clergy that seem to care about the people in this part of the country. No minister of any Protestant denomination ever visits us.”

When the ordinance of baptism had been dispensed, and I had made the necessary memoranda, Mr. Smith observed, “that he believed there were some fees connected with the registration of the baptism.” Perceiving that his object was to make me a pecuniary compensation, I told him, “there was nothing of the kind ; for I kept the register myself, and no fees of any kind were received for baptism by

Presbyterian ministers." "Well," said Mr. Smith, "I know you are travelling for the public good, and your expenses must be very heavy, so you will allow me to contribute towards defraying them;" and he accordingly handed me an order on one of the banks in Sydney, which, on these terms, I could not refuse, and which was duly honoured on my return. I mention the circumstance chiefly for the information and benefit of those who tell us that a minister of religion who goes forth into the interior of Australia to seek the welfare of the children of his people, and to dispense among them the ordinances of religion, will receive neither encouragement nor support from the people among whom he goes.

I found ophthalmia, or, as it is called by the colonists, "blight," somewhat prevalent along the valley of the Murrumbidgee, and afterwards on the Murray and Ovens Rivers, in the course of my journey. As I have already observed, it seems to be much more prevalent in this part of the interior, than towards the eastern coast. The country, along these rivers, is but slightly elevated above the level of the sea, and is consequently very hot in summer. Besides, it is much nearer the Central Desert of the interior discovered by Captain Sturt; the hot winds from which blow with much greater intensity of heat in this part of the country than after they have crossed the Coast Range to the eastward. For the same reason, doubtless, the blight or Australian ophthalmia is very prevalent at Adelaide, in South Australia. It seems to be the extreme aridity of the atmosphere during these winds that occasions this peculiar affection, probably by causing undue evaporation from the moist surface of the eye. It is not at all dangerous, from anything I could learn respecting it, but it is very painful and very troublesome; for the patient almost loses the use of his eyes during the continuance of the affection, and must keep himself shut up, if he can, in a darkened apartment. I found a gentleman in this state at the inn on

the Ovens River. He had been driving cattle and horses overland to Victoria, along with his men ; and some of the herd having gone astray, he had been riding about in the open forest in search of them, under an almost vertical sun, when he was seized with this affection of the eyes, and confined to the inn. I have been obliged myself, when riding in the open forest right against a hot wind, to put a silk handkerchief in my hat, and let it fall down like a veil over my face, to protect my eyes from the burning heat of this Australian sirocco. People who are not exposed to the glare of the sun, and the current of heated air during a hot wind, are seldom affected in the way I have mentioned ; but the colonists generally are very careless in this respect, and expose themselves needlessly to both sun and wind, as freely as they would in England.

The stage from Kiamba to Billibung Forest is twenty-eight miles. The postman from Tarcotta Creek to Billibung was a German from Leipsic, of the name of Johann Pabst, or John Pope, who had arrived in New South Wales twenty-five years before, as a hired servant or shepherd, in the employment of the Australian Agricultural Company at Port Stephen, and who, after serving out his time, had married a reputable free immigrant from Dublin, and was now comfortably settled at Billibung. He had a good cottage, and cultivated a piece of ground for grain, roots, and vegetables, and he had some cattle grazing in the vicinity, while he drove the mail to and fro to Tarcotta Creek, a distance of forty-five miles, twice a week. I had made the acquaintance of this reputable and industrious man on a former journey. He had been a Lutheran home, and his wife, who was also a Protestant, had recently been endeavouring to discharge her duty to her children with the care and affection of a Christian. On the present occasion he requested me to baptise his children, which I did accordingly with great

Billibung is in ordinary seasons a fine grassy country, and the creek of that name, which passes the mail station, spreads out into a series of picturesque lagoons, at a considerable distance off, before it enters the Murrumbidgee, watering a fine level tract of grassy country, called Eurana Plains.

The next stage, to Mullinjandra, is eighteen miles, and the one to Albury, on the Murray River, is twenty-two ; the country becoming gradually more open and picturesque towards the Murray.

The mail reaches Albury on the right bank of the Murray River, the common boundary of New South Wales and Victoria, about an hour before sunset ; the distance from Tarcoota Creek being eighty-five miles. The valley of the Murray is remarkably different from that of the Murrumbidgee, and the plains on either side of the river are really splendid. These plains are generally traversed in a direction parallel to the course of the river, and at a considerable distance from it, by long narrow lagoons, which are evidently supplied from the river in seasons of inundation ; and both these lagoons and the river itself are flanked by lofty and umbrageous trees, that give a noble and park-like character to the scene. These plains consist of alluvial land of the first quality for cultivation ; and although they are occasionally flooded, they can easily be cultivated with perfect safety notwithstanding, as there is always high ground at a moderate distance on the outskirts of the plains. A crop may doubtless be lost now and then ; but the rich alluvium which the river leaves behind it will far more than counterbalance all the loss that can ever be experienced from its occasional inundations.

What an immense population might not the beautiful and fertile valleys of these two great rivers, the Murrumbidgee and the Murray, sustain ! The whole surplus population of Britain, for half a century to come, might easily be located

on their banks ; and there would be "ample room and verge enough" in the pastoral country behind to rear sheep and cattle to supply the vast community with animal food to the full.

The valley of the Murray is of various breadth, but generally about twelve miles ; and it is flanked on either side by a terrace or outer bank, that separates the agricultural land below from the pastoral or upland country. It is occupied on either side by squatting stations for upwards of 200 miles above Albury, and for a much greater distance below.

The Murray, the Tumut, the Murrumbidgee, the Ovens, the Goulburn, the Yarra-Yarra, and the rivers of Western Port and Gippsland, all rise in the Snowy Mountains, or Australian Alps. Of this mountainous region, as well as of the country in which the Murray River takes its rise, the following description is from the pen of Count Strzelecki, in his work entitled "Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land."

"The cluster of broken peaks which mark the sources of the Murrumbidgee, Condradigbee, and the Doomut ; the ridges which form walls as it were for their respective courses ; indeed, the whole structure of the spurs about this locality, imparts to them the character of bold outworks in advance of that prominent group of mountains, known in New South Wales under the name of the Australian Alps.

"Conspicuously elevated above all the heights hitherto noticed in this cursory view, and swollen by many rugged protuberances, the snowy and craggy sienitic cone of Mount Kosciusko is seen cresting the Australian Alps, in all the sublimity of mountain scenery. Its altitude reaches 6500 feet, and the view from its summit sweeps over 7000 square miles. Standing above the adjacent mountains, which could neither detract from its imposing aspect nor interrupt the view, Mount Kosciusko is one of those few elevations, the ascent of which, far from disappointing, presents the traveller with all that can remunerate fatigue. In the north-eastward view, the eye is carried as far back as the Shoalhaven country ; the ridges of all the spurs of Manciro and Twofold Bay, as well as those which, to the

westward, enclose the tributaries of the Murrumbidgee, being conspicuously delineated. Beneath the feet, looking from the very verge of the cone downwards almost perpendicularly, the eye plunges into a fearful gorge, 3000 feet deep, in the bed of which the sources of the Murray gather their contents, and roll their united waters to the west.

"To follow the course of the river from this gorge into its further windings, is to pass from the sublime to the beautiful. The valley of the Murray, as it extends beneath the traveller's feet, with the peaks of Corunal, Dargal, Mundiar, and Tumburumba, crowning the spur which separates it from the valley of the Murrumbidgee, displays beauties to be compared only to those seen among the valleys of the Alps."

Immediately after the mail had reached Albury, I took advantage of the remaining daylight by ascending a steep hill on the right bank of the river near the town, to learn something of the general character of the surrounding country, and to admire the scene from its summit. The hill seemed to be almost entirely composed of blocks and angular pieces of quartz of various hues, with a considerable quantity of micaceous schistus towards its summit.⁷ The view from the top of the hill was exceedingly fine. From east to west, in the direction of south, the horizon was shut in by a succession of mountains and mountain-ranges of great variety of form, and some of them of great elevation ; while the sun was slowly descending behind the distant peaks of a lofty tier in the far west. To the eastward, the noble river, which was flowing with a rapid current at the foot of the hill, could be traced for a great distance in the direction of its source in the Snowy Mountains, by the long line of beautiful plains on its banks, and the tall, umbrageous trees that either fringe the borders of the numerous lagoons parallel to the course of the river, or are thinly scattered over the surface of the plains. To the westward

⁷ This is precisely the gold formation in Australia, and accordingly gold has recently been found at Albury.

the river soon disappears among the hills that in this part of its course approach close to its banks.

Albury is finely situated for a town—plenty of the finest land to grow grain and everything else for a city as large as London, and plenty of excellent water ; the population of the town, by the last census, is 1906, but that of the police district in which it is situated is 9190. Of that population a large proportion consists of Germans, who have been attracted to New South Wales by Mr. Robertson's Free Selection Act, almost exclusively from the neighbouring province of South Australia, and have settled down under its very liberal conditions on the banks of the Murray. There is a township called Germantown, which has been settled in this way, at Ten Mile Creek on the Sydney road. There has also been much Free Selection in the Albury district by our own countrymen, as is evident in the recently erected slab dwellings and smiling farms all over the country.

The western tier of mountains, over which the sun was going down when I had reached the summit of the hill near Albury, is sixty miles farther down the river ; and there are no further elevations for hundreds of miles to the westward. The river also, in that part of its course, approaches within 150 miles of Melbourne ; and the intervening country is nearly a dead level, consisting of fine rich grassy plains, stretching across the whole way to the Murrumbidgee River.

There are churches for the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic communions, in the town of Albury, with all the other institutions of a secular character, usually to be found in county towns. The Germans in the neighbourhood have introduced and popularized the culture of the vine in the Albury district, and Albury wine from the establishment of Mr. Fallon, late member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, who h

extensive vineyard near the town, bears a high character for its quality even in the home market.

As the Murray River, after its junction with the Murrumbidgee, receives the Darling River from the northern interior, and discharges its waters into the Lake Alexandrina or Victoria, within the limits of the province of South Australia, the navigation of that river, and the direction of the trade to be created along its banks, became at a comparatively early period, questions of great importance in that colony; and a premium of 2000*l.* was accordingly offered by the Legislative Council of South Australia to the person who should first navigate the Murray by steam. I presume it was Captain Cadell, who first navigated the Murrumbidgee to Gundagai, who won this premium; at all events, there is a whole fleet of steamers on the Murray now. From Albury to the junction with the Murrumbidgee, the distance is 260 miles. From thence to the mouth of the Darling River, it is 110 miles; and from the mouth of the Darling to Adelaide, it is 280 miles; and as the distance from Sydney to Albury is in round numbers 400 miles, the whole distance by this route from Sydney to Adelaide is 1050 miles.

In the lower part of the course of the Murray there is either an ancient channel or an ana-branch of the river, formed by its overflowings in times of inundation, called the Edward or Wakool, which, taking a northerly direction towards the Murrumbidgee, diverges about forty miles from the Murray, and then pursues a westerly course for about a hundred and fifty miles, till it returns again to the river. The tract of country included between the Murray and this ana-branch is a splendid pastoral country, called Boyd's Plains, in honour of the late Benjamin Boyd, Esq., who had an extensive squatting establishment on the Edward. It is considerably larger than the whole kingdom of Holland, and contains 5000 or 6000 square miles alto-

gether. Deniliquin, the chief town of Riverina, is situated on the Edward River, and an Act of Parliament has been recently passed by the Legislature of New South Wales to authorize the construction of a railway between Deniliquin and Echuca, on the Murray, a distance of fifty miles.

As Albury is within two hundred miles of Melbourne, the intervening distance being principally a dead level, while Sydney is at double the distance, with ranges of mountains of upwards of 2000 feet high between, it must be evident that communication of all kinds on the part of Albury, must naturally be with Melbourne and not with Sydney. The natural course for trade in these south-western regions is to cross the Murray and to take the shorter course to Melbourne, instead of crossing the mountains on the much longer course to Sydney. So much is this the case that forty-one per cent. of the wool of New South Wales,^{*} grown in the south-western parts of the colony, crosses the Murray, and is credited to Victoria as the produce of that colony. But certain of our Colonial Legislators imagine that by carrying a railway to Wagga Wagga, they will be able to direct the trade of the south-western interior from its natural course and bring it to Sydney. I am confident they will find themselves mistaken.

There is no doubt that Riverina, or the tract of country between the Murray and Murrumbidgee Rivers lies into Victoria and not into New South Wales; and in the year 1839, Lord John Russell proposed, at the instance of the Commissioners of Land and Emigration, that the Murrumbidgee should be the southern boundary of New South Wales. But the late Bishop Broughton, who was then a member of the Nominee Legislative Council, protested, in

* A small portion of this forty-one per cent. of New South Wales wool goes down the Murray and is credited to Adelaide, but by far the greater portion goes to Melbourne, and swells the produce of Victoria.

a long speech on the subject, in the year 1840, against the Murrumbidgee being declared the Southern boundary instead of the Murray, which he advocated; alleging, as his strong reason, that New South Wales had paid for the discoveries in the south-western interior, in the expeditions of Captain Sturt and Sir Thomas Mitchell; and other members coinciding with him, the Murray was accordingly declared the southern boundary of the colony. But it was not the fact that these expeditions were paid for by New South Wales, which Bishop Broughton, as a legislator, ought to have known. They were undertaken, by direction of the Secretary of State, on the recommendation of the Governor of the day, and were paid for entirely from the land revenue of the colony, which was then the undisputed *droit* of the Crown, and not from the Ordinary Revenue of New South Wales.

It cannot be supposed that the inhabitants of the south-western districts of the colony will consent, when they become numerous enough to have a mind of their own, to be governed from Sydney, seven or eight hundred miles off. But this is one of the great Colonial questions of the future, that can stand over for the present for future adjustment.

Returning to Tarcoola Creek, the half-way station between Sydney and Melbourne, the mail from Sydney—after passing for twenty miles in a westerly direction through a beautiful country, which I traversed so lately as in December last—reaches the important inland town of Wagga Wagga, situated on the opposite or south bank of the Murrumbidgee River, and in the centre of the extensive pastoral district of the Murrumbidgee. It has a population of 1858 souls; but that of the Police District in which Wagga Wagga is situated is upwards of 5000 souls. The town is regularly and well built, and is approached by a noble bridge across the Murrumbidgee. There are churches of a superior architectural character for an inland town for the Episcopalian, Presby-

terian, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic Communions, as also public and private schools of a superior order; and as a great central point for trade of all kinds, the town of Wagga Wagga is rapidly rising into importance. I officiated in the Presbyterian church to large congregations both morning and evening during the Sabbath I spent in Wagga Wagga, and took the road by the mail on the following day to Murrumburrah, Young, and Grenfell.

The distance from Wagga Wagga to Murrumburrah, a rising town in the midst of a pastoral, agricultural, and gold-mining district, is eighty miles; and I have already stated that on the day on which I made this journey by the mail in December last, the thermometer stood at 110° of Fahrenheit at Wagga Wagga. The country through which the road passes is a hill and dale country, thinly inhabited, and presenting occasional towns and villages in an embryo state on the route, with grassy hills of moderate elevation, eminently suited for pasturage, interspersed with plains of greater or lesser extent, equally fitted for cultivation, as the frequent occurrence of Free Selection settlements along the whole route abundantly proves. There is a gold-field to the left in actual working on the southern part of the route, and about half way is the village of Cootamundra, where the future railway to Adelaide in South Australia is to branch off from the Great Trunk Line, now in progress, to Wagga Wagga.

I left the mail at Narrabine, the residence of a Scotch magistrate of the territory, with whom I was acquainted, at eleven p.m., about eight or ten miles from Murrumburrah. He was not at home himself, but his nephew very kindly drove me across the country to Young in his buggy on the following day, passing Wombat, an abandoned gold-field, on the way.

The town of Young, which is situated in a very interesting part of the country, about 255 miles from Sydney, was

named in honour of the late Governor, Sir John Young. It occupies the site of an abandoned gold-field, discovered in the year 1861, and previously known as the Lambing Flat or Burrangong. The diggings were entirely alluvial, but so rich as to attract a population of many thousands from all parts of the territory, including some thousands of Chinese. A collision having taken place with these people, through the evil offices of some hot-headed Europeans, who accused them of all manner of imaginary offences, and endeavoured to expel them by main force from the diggings, a body of military had to be sent up from Sydney to keep, or rather to restore the peace. There was a very large quantity of gold obtained for a time from these diggings, as well as from various others in the vicinity, including Wombat. At length, however, the supply gradually diminished, and the diggings became exhausted. There was then almost as large an exodus *from* the diggings as there had been *towards* them in the first instance. But a certain number remained behind, who, on examining the surrounding country, found it to be a first-rate country for the growth of wheat and all other European produce; the soil being of a deep chocolate colour, and the country 1500 feet above the level of the sea. The result of the second and more important discovery has been a large development of the Free Selection principle all around the town of Young, and the abandoned gold-field has been thus speedily transformed into a highly prosperous agricultural community—in a locality, too, in which nobody would otherwise have ever thought of settling, at so great a distance from the capital, for perhaps half a century to come.

Young is finely situated in the flat or valley of Burrangong, and the view from the heights on either side of it is interesting and beautiful in a very high degree. The population of the town proper is still but small, but that of the neighbourhood is already considerable and rapidly increasing. The Epis-

copilians, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and Roman Catholics have all places of worship of a creditable appearance for their respective communions in the town and neighbourhood. My esteemed friend and brother, the Rev. George Grimm, M.A., a superior scholar, is the Presbyterian minister for both Young and Grenfell, another colonial town of a similar origin, thirty-five miles distant; officiating alternately in each of these towns, and once a month at a third station, forty miles distant. It happened to be Mr. Grimm's Sabbath for that distant locality the day I was at Young, when otherwise both of the churches at Young and Grenfell would have been unoccupied. But after preaching at Young to a good congregation in the morning, a personal friend and member of the Church in that locality droye me in his buggy to Grenfell, where we arrived in time for Divine Service in the evening, to a numerous congregation in the recently erected Presbyterian church in that locality.

Grenfell derives its name from a gentleman, a bank manager, who was unfortunately shot by a bushranger when travelling by coach to Sydney on public duty. It has had a somewhat similar origin and history with Young, and will, doubtless, have a similar future. I delivered a lecture in each of these towns during my short stay, on a subject of colonial interest; and it was when desiring to cross the Macquarie River to Cowra, and make a short cut to Orange, my next destination, that I was obliged, as I have already stated, to proceed thither by the circuitous route of Forbes.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CLARENCE RIVER DISTRICT.

"Know ye the land of the cedar and vine,
Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine ;
Where the light wings of zephyr, oppress'd with perfume,
Wax faint o'er the gardens of Gul in her bloom ;
Where the citron and olive are fairest of fruit,
And the voice of the nightingale never is mute ;
Where the tints of the earth, and the hues of the sky,
In colour though varied, in beauty may vie,
And the purple of ocean is deepest in dye ?"

BYRON.

THE Clarence District of New South Wales extends from the 30th parallel of South latitude, which was fixed as the northern boundary of the colony by the Imperial Parliament of 1850, to Point Danger, or the 28th parallel on the coast and the 29th in the interior—the boundary which was substituted for the time being on the recommendation of Sir William Denison. The area included within these limits is an extent of country "forty square miles larger than all England,"¹ that is, twice the extent of the whole Colony of Tasmania, and equal to that of the State of New York in America, with a population of three millions.

The appearance of the coast in this part of the territory is remarkably different from that of New South Wales proper. The great dividing range, which runs parallel to the coast-line, is here about sixty miles inland, and has an elevation of 4100 feet above the level of the sea ; but,

¹ This was the information given me on the subject by the Surveyor-General's Department in Sydney.

between it and the ocean, there are detached mountains and peaked hills that shoot up their lofty summits into the cloudless sky, giving rise to numerous mountain streams, and presenting to the eye a highly picturesque and beautiful outline. Mount Warning, one of these detached mountains, in which the Tweed River rises, and which forms a conspicuous landmark for the mariner, is 3353 feet high.

The dividing or Coast Range divides the district into two pretty equal portions—the low land, or the *Tierra Caliente*, as the Spaniards would call it, on the coast, and the high land, or *Tierra Temblada*, to the westward of the mountains, in the interior.

There are three rivers that fall into the Pacific along the coast in this district, and that constitute its characteristic feature—the Clarence, which disembogues in Shoal Bay, in latitude $29^{\circ} 30'$ south; the Richmond, which falls into the sea about forty miles to the northward of that bay, and the Tweed, which disembogues at Point Danger. All these rivers are bar-mouthed, but they are all available for steam navigation—especially the Clarence.

The population of the Clarence District is given, by the last census, at 22,744; but as there has since been a great discovery of tin in the district, which has attracted towards it a very large number of miners with their wives and families, the population is now estimated at not less than 40,000. The live-stock in the district, up to the 31st of March, 1873, is as follows :—

Horses	45,125
Horned Cattle	450,271
Sheep	1,505,778
Pigs	11,098

There are two Steam Navigation Companies that conduct the trade in passengers, goods, and produce, between Sydney and the Clarence River; the distance being 350 miles, and the steamers always calling at Newcastle for coals for their

voyage both ways. I had occasion to visit the Clarence District on clerical duty in the month of May, 1873, and was rather surprised to find, after we had crossed the bar and got into the river from the great Pacific, that the captain had got the ship decorated with all the flags on board. On inquiring as to the reason for this display, I was given to understand that it was in honour of my visit to the district, as I had not been there for eight years before. I had been pretty much identified with the district from an early period of its existence,² and had been instrumental in settling two ministers on the two principal rivers. But I had had no expectation of such an acknowledgment of my services. The schoolmaster of Ulmarra also, one of the rising towns on the river, had got a flag hoisted on a pole near his school, while his pupils were all ranged in a line on the river-bank and gave us three hearty cheers as we passed.

In illustration of the general physical character of this portion of the colony, I have much pleasure in subjoining the following extract from a very able and interesting Report on the Capabilities of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers District, with which I was favoured, at my own

² I had carried home to England, at two different periods, both before and after the separation of Queensland from New South Wales in the year 1859, two different Petitions to Her Majesty from the inhabitants of the Clarence district, including persons of all classes of its society, almost without exception; praying Her Majesty to maintain the boundary of the 30th parallel of latitude, as fixed by the Imperial Parliament of 1850, and protesting against their annexation to New South Wales. But in the dark days of colonial squatterdom, the voice of the people was uniformly and systematically disregarded both in Downing Street and in the colony, and these Petitions had, consequently, no effect. The annexation of the Clarence district to New South Wales was intended principally, if not exclusively, for the extension of the domain of squatterdom, and I have no hesitation in adding, that it was accomplished by downright chicanery and fraud, I need not state how.

particular request, in the year 1846, by the late Oliver Fry, Esq., J.P., then Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Clarence District; for the natural features and physical characteristics of the country are precisely the same now as they were then.

*"Report on the Capabilities of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers, by
OLIVER FRY, Esq., J.P., Commissioner of Crown Lands for the
Clarence District of New South Wales."*

"The Border Police District of Clarence River, extending from the 28th to the 30th degree of South latitude, is bounded on the east by the Pacific, and on the west by the northern extremity of the great Liverpool Range. It is divided into three almost equal portions by the Rivers Clarence and Richmond, which receive their sources in the above-named range, and flow from thence in parallel directions, diverging from north-west to south-east, till they reach the coast, the former falling into the ocean at Shoal Bay, the latter about forty miles farther to the northward. In addition to these rivers, the district is intersected at various points by several other minor streams, both tributary and independent; but I shall confine my observations to these two rivers.

"The Clarence, in common with all the other rivers on the east coast of New Holland, labours under the disadvantage of a bar entrance; but as the depth of water on the bar is seldom less than fourteen feet, it cannot be considered as presenting any obstacle to the navigation of the river, by steamers of even moderate power.

"The country in the vicinity of the Clarence may be described, in the neighbourhood of the Heads, as wearing the aspect of low sandy downs, a peculiarity, however, which is confined to the coast. For a few miles higher up the river, it is succeeded by extensive swamps, the immediate borders of the stream being covered with a dense, impervious brush; and this continues to be its general character for the distance of about twenty miles inland, when it becomes more elevated, more open, and of an infinitely better description. After passing this point, it may be briefly characterized, for miles, as a series of thinly timbered flats, occasional by detached portions of the hills which form the base, running down to the verge of the water; a stream all the way up. As it is to these flats (so favourable by nature for the production of grain, and so favour-

its exportation) that the agriculturist would undoubtedly have recourse, I shall endeavour to convey an idea of their character. They are of various sizes; many of them extending along the river for miles, the soil being a deep, dark alluvial deposit, on a substratum of clay, covered at top by a layer of vegetable decomposition, the accumulation of ages; and so thinly timbered that isolated acres may be found unencumbered by a single tree. The astonishing vegetation with which they are clothed is almost inconceivable, such indeed as I have never witnessed elsewhere, save in the equally favoured regions on the Richmond. It is impossible to imagine a country more worthy of having bestowed upon it the labour of the husbandman, or one more likely to remunerate him for his toil, than the localities to which I refer; as they are remarkable not alone for the excellence of the land, but for being placed under a climate than which none can be more conducive to the process of vegetation.

"The description which I have given of the country in the vicinity of the Clarence will, with little exception, be equally applicable to that on the banks of the Richmond; nature displaying an inexhaustible fertility in the soil adjacent to its course, though in proportion as you recede from its banks, the land becomes less rich, and vegetation assumes a less luxuriant aspect.

"The productions of every country in an agricultural point of view (with the exception perhaps of the valley of the Nile, and a few others where irrigation is had recourse to), depending not less on the climate than on the quality of the soil, I conceive that an effort to describe the climate, throughout the district of Clarence River, will not be exceeding the limits of the information you require. An almost complete realization of Fenelon's conception, with reference to Calypso's isle, is exhibited in the climate on the Clarence, as without any great degree of hyperbole, a perpetual spring may be said to prevail during the entire year; for so mild are the seasons, that vegetation remains unchecked, even in the midst of the so-called winter. Rain is abundant, so much so as to give rise to the opinion that the district is unsuited for pastoral purposes, at least so far as sheep are concerned. Frost is very unfrequent, and never intense. As may be inferred from its geographical position, the heat in summer is considerable, but an excess of two or three days is almost invariably succeeded by thunder-showers, which for a time cool and render invigorating the air, occasionally causing an extraordinary rapid change of temperature, the thermometer having been frequently known to vary not less than forty degrees in the space of

twelve hours. This sudden caprice of temperature is, however, not in the least creative of unhealthiness; on the contrary, I am satisfied there is no part of New South Wales, however justly it may be famed for the salubrity of its climate, which is more conducive to the health of the human body than the district of Clarence River; indeed most others must be confessed to yield to it in this respect, inasmuch as the never-fading mantle of green, in which it is perpetually clothed, shields its inhabitants from those ophthalmic diseases so prevalent in other parts of the colony.

"On the whole, a four years' residence in the district has confirmed me in the opinion, that no country ever came from the hands of its Creator more eminently qualified to be the abode of a thriving and numerous population, than the one of which I have been speaking; and in forming this estimate I have been uninfluenced either by prejudice or by interest, being no way connected with it, save in that arising from my official capacity."

The Clarence is the largest river on the east coast of Australia. It is navigable by ocean steamers for fifty miles to Grafton, the chief town of the district, being half a mile wide all the way up. It is navigable, however, by river steamers for thirty miles higher up, to a place called Copmanshurst. There are rising and highly promising towns on its banks, as, for instance, at Rocky Mouth or McLean, twenty miles from the Heads; at Lawrence, where a road strikes off to Tenterfield and the Upper Richmond, ten miles higher up, and at Ulmarra, nine miles below Grafton. There are river steamers that ply between Grafton and Rocky Mouth, a distance of thirty miles, making a trip to and fro daily, and calling at all the settlers' wharves on the banks. The sail either up or down the river is romantic and beautiful in the highest degree.

The population of the town of Grafton, by the census of 1871, is 2250. The town is well planned and well built, and suitable buildings of all kinds required for a busy trading community are either erected or erecting within it. Unfortunately however, the greater part of it is within reach of the occasional inundations of the river. This was the more

inexcusable on the part of all concerned, as about seven miles higher up there was a large plateau of level ground above all reach of floods and still within the deep water limits. But the Genius of Incapacity must, of course, have his *say* in such cases, as he has had so often from time immemorial in New South Wales.

The Richmond River, which I have visited repeatedly but not recently, is navigable about eighty miles to Casino, although rather tortuous in its course. There is a second branch, also navigable, on which there is a rising town, pleasantly situated, called Lismore; and the Tweed River, about forty miles farther north, which I have not visited, is in all material respects merely a smaller edition of the Clarence and the Richmond Rivers. The cedar trade has long been pursued successfully on the Richmond and its tributaries, as also on the Tweed; and there is a very large extent of land of the first quality available for semi-tropical cultivation on the banks of all the three rivers and their tributary streams. It is alleged by intelligent persons who are resident in the district, and consequently well acquainted with the facts, that there are not fewer than five hundred miles of water frontage on the Clarence River and its tributaries, three hundred on the Richmond, and a smaller, although a considerable, proportion on the Tweed. The land in all these cases is precisely such as Mr. Fry has described it, alluvial land of the first quality for cultivation.

Now, the very important circumstance in the case is that this alluvial land, which has hitherto been occupied exclusively for the growth of wheat and maize, is now occupied extensively and increasingly for the growth of the sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar; insomuch, that I have been credibly informed that there has been produced in the Clarence River district alone during the past year (1873) not less than two thousand tons of sugar. There are two or three sugar-mills in the district, on an extensive scale, the

property of a Company in Sydney ; but various growers of sugar cane in the district find it more profitable to have mills of their own, and manufacture their produce themselves.

My recent visit to the Clarence River district had been undertaken chiefly for the discharge of clerical duty. On one of the two Sabbaths I spent at Grafton, I had to dispense the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in the Presbyterian church, to a goodly number of communicants. Understanding, however, from the church officer, who was a German, that there was a large number of his fellow countrymen, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, within a moderate distance on the river, and that the Protestants were chiefly from Baden Baden, and members of the German Reformed or Presbyterian Church, I directed him to inform his countrymen that I would hold Divine Service with them, if they chose, in the afternoon, in their own language, in the Presbyterian church. They accepted the offer gladly, and I had a congregation of upwards of eighty Germans, both male and female, at the hour appointed. The portions of the service consisting of praise and prayer, with the reading of Holy Scripture, were conducted agreeably to the Service-book of the United Prussian Church ; the beautiful German hymns, of which there is a great variety, and some of exquisite beauty, from the Reformation downwards, being sung by the congregation with great fervour and with admirable taste and musical ability. I then told them that as I had no sermon of my own in German, I would read them one by one of their own eminent divines, which I did accordingly. The congregation, I may add, were so much gratified with my humble effort on their behalf, that they inserted a letter of thanks in the local paper, and three of them came to serenade me at my lodging with torchlight and instrumental music the following night.

On the other Sabbath I spent at Grafton, after Divine Service in the Presbyterian church in the morning two of the sons of a Mr. Macfarlane, of Ulmarra, rowed me down

the river in their boat for a second service there in the afternoon, where I found a numerous congregation for the place, waiting in the Presbyterian church for my arrival. They consisted chiefly of Highlanders and their families who had settled on the Clarence River many years ago ; being a portion of the 4000 Highlanders who were sent out passage free by the Home Government at my suggestion and recommendation, at the expense of the Land Fund of the colony, during the famine in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in the years 1837, '38, and '39. Mr. Macfarlane, who is now a substantial proprietor at Ulmarra, with a fine farm and a neat cottage for his family, beautifully situated on the banks of the river, and embowered among bananas, fig-trees, and sugar-canæ, was one of their number. He had, for some time after his arrival in the colony, been a school-master at Dungog on William's River ; but as I had published and circulated an account of the Clarence River district, which was then a *terra incognita* in the colony, embodying Mr. Fry's Report, with those of other gentlemen of the time, in the year 1847, a number of the Highlanders had been attracted to the district, and had gradually worked their way thither and settled on the Clarence and Richmond Rivers. I spent the night at Mr. Macfarlane's with his respectable family, and walked over his cultivation ground with him next morning. I forgot the extent of his farm and the number of acres he had under maize or Indian corn; for the circumstance that attracted my attention exclusively was that he had fourteen acres of sugar-cane in vigorous growth at the time of my visit.

The sugar-cane is grown exactly like maize or Indian corn, being planted in rows five or six feet apart, to give room for the horse plough or harrow between the rows to clear the ground of weeds ; and when growing it greatly resembles the maize plant, although of a different and darker shade of green. Like the maize also, it grows six or eight

feet high ; but instead of being raised from seed, like maize, it is grown from slips or rattans, and takes at least eighteen months to bring the first crop to maturity. Mr. Macfarlane estimated his crop of canes at sixty tons to the acre. He sells it to the Company on the ground at 10*l.* a ton ; and when ready for cutting, the Company send their men to cut the cane and carry it to their drogher on the river bank, to be conveyed to their nearest mill. When these minor services are rendered by the planter, an allowance is made by the Company. I thought Mr. Macfarlane was in the right in selling his produce to the Company, instead of getting a small mill and manufacturing the cane himself, like certain of his neighbours. For as the manufacture of sugar is a chemical and very delicate operation, it cannot be supposed that it can be done either so economically or so well by mere farmers as by a Company having all the requisite appliances for the purpose. The Clarence River farmers were greatly at a loss at first how to cut the cane, and some of them were using spades for the purpose. But Alexander Cameron, Esq., J.P., of Rocky Mouth, who has a large business and property on the river, having lived for some time in the Southern States of America, where the cane is extensively cultivated, showed them the sort of knife which is used by the planters there, and ordered a consignment of the article from Boston in Massachusetts, where it is manufactured for the Southern planters. The farmers on the Clarence are now supplied with the article. The cane requires to be cut as near the ground as possible, as the saccharine matter is more abundant in the lower part of the cane than it is higher up. The wonder in the whole case to me, and it was exceedingly gratifying all the while, was to see these Highlanders, who had been accustomed in their native land merely to scratch a few roods of the ungrateful soil of their country every year for a scanty supply of oats, barley, and potatoes, transformed all at once, as it were by

the rod of a magician, into something like West Indian nabobs, growing sugar, and without the niggers !

I returned to Grafton from Rocky Mouth by the river steamer, which passes Mr. Macfarlane's wharf on her way up about eleven o'clock; and on the afternoon of the following day I went down by it to Rocky Mouth, to hold Divine Service for the Presbyterians of that neighbourhood on my return to Sydney. The river steamer leaves Grafton at two p.m. and calls at the different wharves on her way down the river. It was therefore ten o'clock at night and pitch dark ere we reached Rocky Mouth, where I found a numerous congregation assembled from a great distance all round, to whom I preached at that late hour, as the ocean steamer for Sydney was to pass down the river early next day.

The great Dividing Range, I have already observed, divides the Clarence River district into two pretty equal portions—the low land on the Coast, and the high land to the westward of the mountains in the interior. As I had never been beyond the mountains in this part of the territory, I determined to visit the western portion of the Clarence River district before undertaking my present visit to England and the publication of this work; both to learn for myself the general character of the country, and particularly to ascertain the facts and prospects in regard to the recent and very remarkable discovery of tin in that region. Having therefore occasion to be in Queensland in February last, instead of returning by sea as I had always done before, I took the railway over the Dividing Range from Ipswich, the second town in that colony, to its southern terminus at Warwick on the Darling Downs, adjoining the northern boundary of New South Wales; intending to proceed overland to Sydney. I made a few Rough Notes of my journey for a weekly journal in Sydney, of which I shall insert the following extracts, illustrative

of the physical character of the western portion of the Clarence River district, as well as of the state and prospects of the tin-mining country.

" Wednesday, 25th February, 1874.—Left the town of Warwick, in Queensland, by Cobb's coach at half-past five this morning, and arrived at Maryland, a frontier township in New South Wales, about half-past ten; the distance being thirty miles, and the only evidence of our passing from one colony into another, being a tree with a piece of its bark chipped off with a hatchet. For some time before we had reached the hotel at Maryland it had been raining heavily, and it continued to rain during the hour we remained there for the arrival of the branch coach from Stanthorpe, the tin region of Queensland, about ten miles off, as well as for the greater part of the way to Tenterfield, which is sixty miles from Warwick. I was therefore completely drenched, as I was sitting on the box-seat from preference, long before we reached Tenterfield. The road is very bad — exceedingly boggy in some places, and rocky in others, thereby rendering frequent and long detours, that lengthen the route many miles, absolutely necessary. There are myriads of acres of land of the first quality for cultivation, and capable of sustaining a large population, along the whole course: but with the exception of a handful of tin-miners at a place called Wilson's Downfall, and one or two stragglers elsewhere at great distances from each other, there is neither population nor cultivation the whole way. Towards Maryland the soil is a beautiful black mould, as on the Darling Downs in Queensland all the way from Toowoomba; towards Tenterfield the country assumes a granitic character, vast rocks of that mineral being piled on each other in inextricable confusion on both sides of the route. The approach to Tenterfield for several miles from the north is interesting and beautiful in a very high degree. The forest-trees assume an umbrageous character, and shoot up their massive forms into the sky; while immense boulders of granite are scattered over the country or rise up from the soil in all directions.

" Tenterfield, which seems to have got its name through the late Sir Alexander Stuart Donaldson—who held a large extent of country in this region as his squatting station—from a property belonging to his family near Haddington in Scotland, is beautifully situated on a plain through which a creek that waters it flows. It is surrounded on all sides by heights of moderate elevation, from all of which it looks remarkably well. The population is about 800, but there are 1100 electors in the Tenterfield district, and the inhabitants think

that on that ground they ought to have a member of the Legislative Assembly for themselves. Understanding that, both there and at Glen Innes, another town sixty miles distant, in which and the district around it there are 1400 electors, there is a strong feeling of dissatisfaction at both towns having only one member between them instead of one each, I took the liberty to telegraph this state of feeling to the Premier before leaving the place, that he might assign them, if he should think proper, another member when the House should be in Committee on the new Electoral Bill. There is little or no intercourse between the two places, the road between them being very mountainous, and the interests of the two towns being adverse to each other; for while the Glen Innes people wish the future railway from Grafton to come to them, the Tenterfield people think it should come to their town.³ Tenterfield is about 3200 feet above the level of the sea, and the *divisa aquarum*, or ridge that divides the eastern waters flowing into the Pacific from those flowing into the great western interior, is within a few miles of Tenterfield. There is a good public school in the place, of which the teacher is evidently a superior man, and well fitted for his office. His name is Walsh. He is an English Roman Catholic of Irish descent, but evidently a very liberal man; and his wife is the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, the late Rev. James Collins, of Grafton.

"Monday, March 2nd.—Left Tenterfield by Cobb's coach this morning at six o'clock. The distance to Glen Innes, my next stopping station, is sixty miles. There is a peculiarly mountainous country, of rather indifferent pasture, intervening on the Tenterfield side of the route; and Mount Bolivia—from whom it got that South American name I do not know—rises to a great height, and forms a formidable obstacle to vehicles of all descriptions on the way. The passengers usually dismount from the coach at the foot of the mountain and walk up to its summit, to relieve the horses. The driver, however, alongside of whom I was sitting on the box, wished to excuse me, on account of my age, from this piece of self-denial; but knowing my weight in society, nearly fifteen stone, I declined his courtesy, as I could not think of punishing the poor horses, and walked up to the mountain-top with the other passengers.

"The habitations are more numerous on this part of the route, after crossing the mountain, and free selectors are seen in increasing

³ The Hon. the Premier, Mr. Parkes, was pleased to assign a member for each town in his bill.

numbers on Deep Water, a running stream of considerable size and depth, and at Dundee, an incipient town where there is a large tract of cleared land, and where we stop for dinner, Dundee being about fifteen miles from Glen Innes. On resuming the route towards that terminus the country improves rapidly, and at length becomes quite splendid both in character and aspect. A few gentlemen, including the Rev. Archibald Cameron, of Glen Innes, who had heard of my coming, had come out to meet me on horseback, about two or three miles from the town ; and on my arrival there, as Mr. Cameron lived a good way out of town, I was domiciled in a respectable hotel, where suitable apartments had been provided for me, about five o'clock p.m.

"Glen Innes, which received its name in honour of the late Major Innes, of Port Macquarie, is the most elevated of all the towns in New England, being 3500 feet above the level of the sea. It has a delightful climate, although the winter must be very cold. It is beautifully situated on a slightly rising ground between two ranges of mountains, with a long plain of beautiful black soil, on a somewhat lower level, stretching a long way to the westward. It is a rising and already a bustling place ; and buildings of a creditable appearance, both public and private, including a public school, are rising in all directions. It will eventually, and at no distant period, be a large city, both from its central situation in New England, and from the great extent of land of the first quality for cultivation, and naturally clear, all around it.

"I had notified my intention to deliver a lecture in Glen Innes on the Wednesday evening after my arrival, and I had accordingly a large and most respectable audience for the place in the Temperance Hall, a creditable brick building recently completed, — O'Keefe, Esq., the worshipful Mayor of Glen Innes, in the chair. Mr. O'Keefe is an extensive and successful merchant and storekeeper, and is much respected in the place. He is a native of the colony, and was born, as he told me, on my brother's estate of Dunmore, near Maitland.

"As I did not like the idea of visiting and lecturing in a town like Glen Innes and not preaching in it also during my stay, which I could not have done on a Sabbath without losing a whole week, I offered to hold Divine Service in the Presbyterian church in the afternoon of Thursday, if it should be agreeable to all concerned : especially as Mr. Cameron was to be absent on the following Sabbath at Wellingrove, one of his principal preaching stations out of Glen Innes. To this arrangement Mr. Cameron most willingly assented, and I was highly gratified to find so numerous and re-

congregation as there assembled for Divine Service, on such short notice, and in the afternoon of a week-day. It says much for Mr. Cameron, who, I was happy to find, is much esteemed and deservedly respected in the place.

"There is no freestone to be found near Glen Innes, and the Presbyterian church, like some other buildings in the place, is of granite, of which there are two different shades, a darker and a lighter, procurable in the vicinity. The darker shade is used for the body of the walls, and the lighter for the door-posts, window-sills, and lintels, which gives a building a fine appearance. Mr. Cameron's church will accommodate about three hundred persons. It has a belfry of a rather singular form, like a Turkish minaret, at one of the front corners of the building.

"On Friday, the 6th March, Mr. Cameron very kindly drove me all the way down to Inverell, a distance of forty miles, in his buggy. It is quite a descent—generally gentle, but sometimes pretty steep—the whole way, Inverell being not less than 1500 feet lower than the level of Glen Innes; its height above the sea-level being about 2000 feet. The country the whole way is of the most splendid description both in appearance and reality. It resembles a series of noblemen's parks in the old country, plains of seven or eight miles in width, naturally clear of timber, and consisting of the rich black soil of this region, while beautiful umbrageous trees standing widely apart surround them on all sides.

"It was well on in the afternoon of Saturday, the 14th, when we reached the hospitable mansion of Colin Ross, Esq., J.P., in Inverell, where I took up my residence during my stay, and from whence Mr. Cameron took his departure on the following day on his return to Wellingrove and Glen Innes. I was much gratified with my intercourse with Mr. Cameron throughout—so well read and so well informed as a scholar, and so devoted, so active, and so zealous as a minister of the Gospel. They had never had an allotment of ground from the Government either for church or manse at Glen Innes, and I pledged myself to do my best with the Hon. Mr. Farnell, the Minister for Lands, for both.

"Saturday, 7th March.—Mr. Ross, whose hospitality I enjoyed during my stay in Inverell, is the oldest inhabitant of the place, and the one who has certainly done by far the most to develop its resources, and to bring it into notice.

"The neighbourhood of Inverell is well suited for a town in every respect, but the site actually occupied by the town is a prodigious mistake. It was laid out by a Government surveyor, on the right

bank of the M'Intyre River, in a locality subject to inundation, although not supposed to be so at the time. In proof of this I may state that the Presbyterian church in which I officiated on the Sabbath during my stay—being one of the oldest buildings in the place, having been erected about ten years since—had four feet of water in it during the last flood, and the principal street was also under water. There was a peculiarly eligible locality for a town, above the reach of all floods, on the opposite side of the river; but the surveyor, when remonstrated with on the subject, could see no danger in the site, and fixed it in its present position for the convenience of easy access to the river for water, although nobody thinks of using the river-water now: and when the matter was referred to the Government, and Mr. Orpen Moriarty, then Commissioner for Lands, was directed to report upon the subject, he simply confirmed the surveyor's decision. It was a fatal and irremediable mistake, much valuable property having been destroyed by the last flood—in one instance to the extent of £2000—and various capitalists who had intended to invest capital in the erection of buildings in the place being either afraid or unwilling to do so from the experience they had had in the recent inundations.

"It is astonishing to think of the number of towns throughout the colony in which the same fatal mistake has been made, when there was not the slightest occasion for it; there being in almost every such instance, suitable sites for the purpose above the reach of floods in the immediate neighbourhood. This egregious mistake has entailed whole masses of poverty and wretchedness on all future generations of the colony. Witness the case of the towns of East and West Maitland and Morpeth, to which the Floods Relief Committee of Sydney, of which I have all along been a member, have had to pay over, by way of a charitable contribution from the public, not less than £600 of their Reserve Fund within the last few weeks. Surely this state of things cannot be allowed to last, for it will always be getting worse and worse as population increases in these doomed localities. I have long been of opinion that one of the great reforms of that Radical Reformer Joseph, in Egypt, was to remove the whole population from all the East and West Maitlands of the olden time along the Nile, and to fix them in cities above the reach of all floods along the noble river. I only wish we had a fit and proper person to succeed Joseph in carrying out the same reform here.

"I spent my first day in Inverell in traversing the country for a few miles in various directions along with Mr. Ross in his buggy.

What a magnificent country, both for soil and aspect, and what myriads of people it will one day sustain !

"As one of my objects in visiting this part of the country was to traverse the tin-mining district, and see the process of tin-mining, Mr. Ross drove me out in his buggy in the afternoon of Monday, the 9th, to where I could have an opportunity of seeing the whole process as at present carried on in this part of the colony. The discovery of extensive deposits of tin in the Clarence River District of New South Wales—an event second only in importance to that of gold itself—took place in the year 1870, on the property or station of the late Mr. Andrew Coventry, a Scotch farmer, who came out to the colony under my auspices in the year 1837, and who settled eventually at Oban, in New England. Nuggets of almost pure tin have been found in various localities; but it is only in the form of stream-tin, as it is called, that it has hitherto been searched for, in all the creeks or streams in the district by the thousands of miners whom the discovery has attracted to the spot. In these streams or creeks it is found in greater or lesser quantities all over the country, indicating the existence of vast deposits of the really precious metal in all parts of this region, and the noble future which it promises to its inhabitants.

"Mr. Ross, who has not only a large and well-replenished store, and a steam flour-mill in Inverell, has also a tannery a few miles from the town, at which he tans on an average fifty sides or skins a week. For this purpose he had purchased before the discovery of tin in this region, at the minimum price of a pound an acre, a tract of three hundred acres of land along both sides of a creek called Middle Creek, of which the water is remarkably soft, and therefore it would seem peculiarly fitted for the purpose of tanning. When it was found, however, that stream-tin had been discovered on another and larger creek, called Cope's Creek, a few miles off in the district, a search was made for the valuable metal on Middle Creek also, on Mr. Ross' private property, which proved successful.

"On arriving at the Creek, a small stream of running water, we found a party of four tin-miners, to whom Mr. Ross had let the ground on tribute, as it is termed; the terms being that Mr. Ross should supply the miners with all the necessary tools and other apparatus for tin-mining, and that they should sell the tin they obtained to Mr. Ross exclusively at 30*l.* a ton. The four tin-miners, of whom one being a Sydney man recognized me at once and welcomed me to the tin-region, had dammed up the creek, so as to direct the

run of water to the side of it next the digging and the Long Tom,⁴ which they had fixed in position, at an elevation of fifteen or twenty degrees, to allow the run of water to play over the stuff, and to carry off all the lighter parts of the material. Two of the party were employed in the meantime at the digging—one of them digging up the stuff from the side of the creek with a pick, and the other shovelling it into a wheelbarrow and wheeling it to the Long Tom—into the upper part of which it is thrown in shovelfuls to be played upon by the running water, and agitated all the while with a rake and otherwise by the other two miners, to whom this part of the work is assigned; the stones that have formed part of the stuff being washed clear in the water, and picked up and thrown away by the hand. When this process has been carried on for some time, the stream-tin, being of very great specific gravity compared with the earthy matters with which it is mixed, and very much resembling gunpowder, remains in a heap in the Long Tom when everything else has been floated away. The Long Tom is then cleaned out, and the tin sand or ore transferred to a galvanized iron bucket. It was between five and six o'clock, when the day was far spent, when Mr. Ross and I visited the mine, and we had therefore a favourable opportunity of ascertaining the result of the labour of the four miners during the day. They had filled by that time two galvanized iron buckets, the contents of each of which, Mr. Ross assured me, would weigh 130 pounds. From the data I have thus given, the reader may calculate for himself the money value of the labour of these four miners for a single day.

"Among the other apparatus supplied to the miners by Mr. Ross, there was a California pump, which I saw in operation, for pumping up the water from the digging. The stream tin in the buckets, Mr. Ross informed me, would yield from 70 per cent. and upwards of the pure metal when smelted, and would sell in Sydney at from 50*l.* to 60*l.* per ton. Tin, which in the form we usually see it seems remarkably light, is in reality one of the heaviest of metals, nearly as heavy, indeed, as gold. It is only the stream-tin—that which has been rubbed off by friction from lodes of the metal—that is got at present, as no machinery has as yet been employed either to mine or to crush the metallic lodes; and the great extent of country over which this metallic substance is found, indicates the great extent of the lodes yet to be discovered. Large lumps almost of pure tin have been picked up, as in the case of nuggets of gold in the alluvial

⁴ A long box like a coffin, open at both ends, and without a lid.

diggings for that metal, in various localities, as at Vegetable Creek, near Glen Innes, where a Roman Catholic priest from Dublin, who was lodging at the same hotel with me at Tenterfield, told me the miners had been getting at the rate of five tons of the metal per day. There is no reason to suppose, therefore, that tin-mining will cease in this tract of country, this Australian Cornwall. The alluvial diggings for stream-tin will be exhausted sooner or later, but the mining will eventually take a different form, namely, by machinery on tin-lodes, of which some very rich mines are known to exist.

During the year 1873 there were exported from New South Wales 4913 tons of tin ore, or stream-tin, and 230 tons of ingot-tin; making altogether, at an average of 60 per cent. of pure metal, a total of about 3180 tons of tin. The ingots are not the rough metal as dug from the mines, but stream-tin that has been smelted in the colony. The total yield of the Queensland tin mines, right across the border, during the same year, is estimated to have been about 4000 tons. But a considerable portion of that export is in reality from New South Wales; for, as there are no roads as yet in that part of the country, the ore from Ruby Creek, one of the most prolific sources of the metal in New South Wales, is carried across the border a short distance to the railway at Warwick, to be conveyed for shipment to Brisbane, and is therefore credited to Queensland, just as 41 per cent. of the wool of New South Wales is credited for the same reason to Victoria.

"Tuesday, 10th March.—Left Inverell by Cobb's coach for Tamworth, a distance of 120 miles, at ten o'clock this morning. The first part of the road through the rich black soil of the Inverell levels, is very bad; but it soon gets lighter and better in the forest-land of light pasture beyond. About ten miles from Inverell Cope's Creek, a considerable stream, resembling a large Scotch burn, crosses the road. This has been the principal locality for stream-tin mining in this district hitherto, and a few miles up the creek there is quite a township of tin-miners, called Tiengah, which I did not think it necessary to visit, as it was only a confused multiplication of what I had seen yesterday more perfectly, although on a smaller scale. There is also a small tin-mining village—called Stanborough, or Tin village, to indicate its origin and character—about five miles farther on the road, or half-way to Bundarra, the terminus of the first day's journey. Bundarra is a considerably larger stream than Cope's Creek, and the situation of the incipient town on both banks, high above all floods, is both appropriate and picturesque. The Clarence River District extends southward very nearly to Bundarra, which is in 30° 10' S.

"Wednesday, 11th.—Started from Bundarra for a journey of sixty miles to Bendemeer, at seven a.m. With occasional patches of land of a superior character for cultivation, the country consists generally of light forest pasture-land, presenting nothing interesting. On this part of the route, the Peel River, a western water, crosses the path, and for some time before we reached it, the driver was rather anxious about our getting across it with safety, as it had been flooded very recently; but we got across quite safely and well. This part of the country must be very elevated, as the descent to the valley of Bendemeer is both very long and very steep.

"I presume it was some squatter from India, or some enthusiastic reader of Moore's 'Lallah Rookh,' that gave the Indian name of Bendemeer to this beautiful place, from its fancied resemblance to the one in the East. Bendemeer is decidedly the most beautiful town I have seen in New England. It is situated on a plateau, or elevated tract of ground, high above all floods, along the bank of the Macdonald River, which flows in front of the town down the beautiful valley, and it is backed in as well as bounded on all sides by a range of mountains, suggesting the idea of Johnson's happy valley of Abyssinia in 'Rasselas.' A handsome and substantial wooden bridge of three compartments, as one can scarcely say arches in the case of such a structure, renders the *coup d'œil* all the more picturesque. The only place of worship in Bendemeer is a small, but very neat Presbyterian brick church, erected through the energy and zeal of the Rev. Thomas Johnston, who officiates periodically at Bendemeer, a distance of forty-five miles from his regular station at Armidale.

"Friday, 13th March.—Started from Bendemeer by Cobb's coach to Tamworth, a distance of thirty miles, where I found the Rev. Andrew Armstrong, M.A., the resident Presbyterian minister, waiting for me with a buggy to carry me to his cottage across the river, where there has been a limited extent of land sold to the inhabitants by the Peel River Company. Remaining at Tamworth to officiate for the Rev. Mr. Armstrong on the following Sabbath, I proceeded thereafter by coach to Murrurundi, where the rail to Newcastle, and afterwards the steamer to Sydney, brought my visit to the Clarence River District to a close on the 23rd of March last."

CHAPTER X.

THE GOLD DISCOVERY AND ITS RESULTS—SOCIAL, MORAL,
AND POLITICAL.

“The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of Hosts.”
—Haggai ii. 8.

IT surely cannot have been without some beneficent design on the part of Divine Providence that extensive gold-fields should have been discovered almost simultaneously on the opposite coasts of the vast Pacific. It seems as if it had been divinely intended,—for the accomplishment of some mighty, and at the same time salutary revolution in the history of mankind, which it had never entered into the hearts of mere politicians to conceive,—to concentrate simultaneously on the opposite shores of that vast ocean a population the most distinguished, from its sources, for intelligence, for enterprise, and for public and private virtue in the whole civilized world. In the contemplation of a moral phenomenon so truly wonderful, and especially in the prospect of its certain effects on the vast Pacific, one may well exclaim with the Psalmist, *The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof.*¹

It is doubtless creditable to the cause of science that the auriferous character of the gold regions, both of California and of Australia, had been distinctly declared by eminent geologists, before the discovery was made in either country.

The description of the auriferous rocks of California,

¹ Psalm xcvi. 1.

given by Mr. Dana, naturalist of the "Exploring Expedition of the United States," in the year 1846, might almost be taken for a description of the gold-bearing regions of Australia.

"*The talcose and allied rocks of the Umpqua and Shasté districts of California,*" observes that gentleman, "*resemble, in many parts, the gold-bearing rocks of other regions: BUT THE GOLD, IF ANY THERE BE, remains to be discovered.*"

The discovery of gold in California was made by the merest accident in the year 1848, and it was that accident that subsequently led to its discovery in Australia. During his residence in New South Wales, Count Strzelecki had intimated his belief that the Australian Andes were auriferous, and had even mentioned indications of gold as having been observed by himself to the westward of the Blue Mountains; but the impression upon his own mind must have been very slight and transient, as he does not allude to the subject in his book. I have already observed that Dr. Leichhardt, when residing at the German Mission Station at Moreton Bay, in the year 1844, previous to his departure for Port Essington, had recommended the missionaries to search for gold towards the sources of the "Brook Kidron," on which their station is situated, as he thought it highly probable that they would find the precious metal in that locality. The late Sir Roderick Murchison, also, President of the Royal Geographical Society of London, affirmed very positively, from the description he had received of the Australian Andes, as compared with the Ural Mountains of Russia, which he had personally visited, that the Australian mountains would be found to be auriferous. And the Rev. W. B. Clarke, a geologist of the highest standing in New South Wales, had repeatedly expressed his belief and conviction that the country to the westward of Bathurst was auriferous. Nay, small quantities of gold had repeatedly been found in the western

country, especially by a Scotch shepherd of the name of M'Gregor; and a nugget of three ounces and a half had been forwarded to the Local Government by an individual who proposed to open a mine for gold if he could obtain certain privileges from the Government beforehand. None of these circumstances or statements, however, had made the slightest impression upon the public mind, or contributed in any way to the actual result.

Among the numerous body of adventurers who crossed over from the Australian colonies to California, on the report of the discovery of gold in that country, was Mr. Edward Hammond Hargraves, a highly intelligent and respectable colonist, who had resided for some time in the western interior of New South Wales. During his stay in California, Mr. Hargraves was employed, like most of the other Australian adventurers, in mining; and in the course of his researches with that view he was greatly struck with the striking resemblance of the California gold country generally to a region with which he was quite familiar in New South Wales, and he naturally concluded that if gold was found so extensively in such a country on the eastern coast of the Pacific, it would in all probability be found in a similarly formed country on the western. The more he saw of the country, the more strongly was this idea impressed upon his mind, till he resolved at length to return to New South Wales, to ascertain whether it was well founded. He did so accordingly, and on the 12th of February, 1851, he succeeded in discovering gold in Australia, in the very locality in which he was so strongly persuaded it would be found, viz. in the Lewis Ponds and Summerhill Creeks, and in the Macquarie and Turon Rivers, in the districts of Bathurst and Wellington. Hargraves makes no pretensions to geological knowledge; he is merely a practical miner; but his powers of observation are evidently of the first order, and his conduct

the whole affair does him the highest credit. The Local Government presented Mr. Hargraves, at his own suggestion, with 500*l.* to cover expenses, in part payment for his important discovery; referring it to the Home Government to determine what his proper remuneration should be, and in the meantime appointing him a Commissioner of Crown Lands to prospect in the gold regions.

The following is the correspondence that took place between Mr. Hargraves and the Local Government, which, it is presumed, will not be uninteresting to the reader:—

"Sydney, 3rd April, 1851.

"SIR,—With reference to my interviews with you regarding the discoveries recently made by me of the existence of gold on Crown Lands in the interior of this country, and to your suggestion that I should communicate to you in writing my views in the matter, I beg leave to state that I embarked in the discovery at my own expense, as a speculation, and as a means of bettering my fortunes in the event of my search proving successful. I have succeeded beyond my expectations; and so far, the great hardships, expenses, and exercise of my skill have been rewarded; and further, that within the period of my explorations (the last two months), I made very satisfactory discoveries of the existence of the precious metal in several localities on the Crown Lands above referred to, and that my first discovery was made on the 12th of February last.

"I have the honour to submit, for the early consideration of the Government, the following propositions, viz., That if it should please the Government to award to me, in the first instance, the sum of five hundred pounds as a compensation, I would point out the localities to any officer or officers they may appoint, and would undertake to realize to the Government my representations, and would leave it to the generosity of the Government, after the importance of my discoveries and disclosures has been ascertained, to make me an additional reward, commensurate with the benefit likely to accrue to the Government and the country.

"Requesting the honour of an early answer, addressed to me, East Gosford, Brisbane Water,

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "EDWARD H. HARGRAVES.

"To the Honourable the Colonial Secretary."

"Colonial Secretary's Office,
"Sydney, 15th April, 1851.

"SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 3rd instant, I am directed by the Governor to inform you that His Excellency cannot say more at present than that the remuneration for the discovery of gold on Crown land, referred to by you, must entirely depend upon its nature and value when made known, and be left to the liberal consideration which the Government would be disposed to give it.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "E. DEAS THOMPSON.

"Mr. E. H. Hargraves,
"East Gosford, Brisbane Water."

"Sydney, 30th April, 1851.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, and in reply beg to say, that I am quite satisfied to leave the remuneration for my discovery of gold on Crown land to the liberal consideration of the Government. The following are the localities where it exists, viz. Lewis Ponds and Summerhill Creeks, Macquarie and Turon Rivers, in the districts of Bathurst and Wellington. I am now awaiting His Excellency's pleasure as to the mode of testing the value of my discovery. Please address, care of Samuel Peek and Co., George Street.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "EDWARD HAMMOND HARGRAVES.

"The Honourable the Colonial Secretary."

"Wellington Inn, Guyong,
"18th May, 1851.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated on the 5th instant, and in reply thereto beg to inform you that I have placed myself at the disposal of Mr. Stutchbury,² and pointed out the gold country ; he has expressed himself perfectly satisfied of the correctness of my statements to the Government. The effect of my appearance in the district has caused a little excitement amongst the people ; and at this time, at the lowest estimate, I should say five hundred men are actively engaged in mining, with success ; some have made very large amounts. Anticipating the Government would take immediate measures to regulate the mines, I have remained

² Government Geologist at the time.

here, at the suggestion of Mr. Stutchbury; and should the Government require my services in carrying out their measures, I trust I shall be found (from my great experience in gold-mining in California) fully equal to the task. Inferring such might be the case, I have not, either directly or indirectly, speculated in any way during the excitement, and now await His Excellency's pleasure as to the amount of compensation for my discovery; and further, if I shall be honoured with an appointment. Anxiously awaiting your reply,

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "EDWARD HAMMOND HARGRAVES.

"The Honourable the Colonial Secretary."

The discovery was announced in Sydney on the 6th of May, 1851, and from that period there was a constant flow of adventurers to the Australian mines, many of whom—after abandoning their proper occupations, and expending, perhaps, all their previous savings upon their outfit—were doubtless unsuccessful, while many others met with extraordinary success. So early as the 25th May, 1851, Samuel Stuchbury, Esq., Geological Surveyor, writes as follows to the Colonial Secretary:—

"The number of people at the Diggings on the Summerhill Creek has greatly increased, and is daily increasing, upon an extent of about a mile. I estimate the number to be not less than 1000, and with few exceptions they appear to be doing well, many of them getting large quantities of gold.

"Lumps have been obtained varying in weight from 1 oz. to 4 lbs., the latter being the heaviest I have heard of.

On the 5th of June, J. R. Hardy, Esq., the Chief Commissioner of the Gold District, writes as follows from the same neighbourhood:—

"The creek is about fourteen miles long from this place (taking all its windings) to its junction with the Macquarie River. There are moreover many branch creeks and ravines in which gold is found, besides the hills themselves having sufficient gold in many of them to pay the working. I may state that the gold formation is clay slate, intersected by numerous quartz veins.

"There are about fifteen hundred (1500) persons at work, of these about eight hundred are persons who have kept steadily working for some weeks, the rest are new arrivals, taking the places of those who are tired after a few days; I think about thirty leave every day; I cannot tell (at this early period) the rate at which they arrive, I think perhaps five hundred in a week. The eight hundred first mentioned average at least one pound each per diem, you may depend upon this as a fact. I may add that those who leave are chiefly the weak and infirm, no man thinks himself too old or too weak to dig gold, but they soon find it out. The digging for gold is hard work compared with shepherding or hutkeeping—but it is *not hard work to able men*. There are many gentlemen here who do a good day's work without difficulty; they are tolerably well sheltered and well fed; the nights are very cold, but there seems to be plenty of clothing and bedding in every tent."

And again on the 8th of June:—

"From the price of provisions, any man can live well on twelve shillings a week, including their tobacco. Meat is 3d. per lb.; flour has come down to 30s. per cwt.; tea and sugar are on the road, and other stores starting. In another month I think living will be as cheap as anywhere else."

And again on the 24th of June:—

"The Turon gold-field is of the most satisfactory nature, and places the settled and profitable nature of gold digging beyond question."

On the 18th of July, the Geological Surveyor forwarded a Report to the Local Government on the gold districts, of which the following is an extract:—

"That quartz is the principal matrix for gold is well known to all collectors of minerals. There is scarcely a cabinet without an example; and nearly all the mines—properly so called (not washings in alluvial drifts)—have been in quartz lodes from the time of the Romans who worked it in Transsylvania and in Wales, at the Ogofan in Caermarthenshire, during their occupation under Trajan, to the present time. But it has also been found in its original position in nests and veins, usually of small extent in granite (as at North Tawton, Devon and St. Just, Cornwall,) in sienite, greenstone, porphyry, trachyte, the crystalline schists, and transition strata; all of which are largely developed in this portion of New South Wales."

Towards the close of the month of June, the rush to the mines experienced a considerable intermission, and many unsuccessful miners returned to their former occupations; but on the circulation of the astounding intelligence of a whole hundredweight (106 lbs.) of gold having been discovered, imbedded in quartz, by two black natives in the service of Dr. Kerr, a respectable colonist from Scotland, on Louisa Creek, a tributary of the Meroo River, to the northward of the Turon, the excitement all over the colony naturally rose to a much greater height than ever. Unfortunately, the mass of quartz rock, in which this largest quantity of the precious metal ever known to have been found in mass, was imbedded, had been broken-up by the black natives to separate the gold from the rock, in consequence of their inability to carry the whole of it away. Mr. Stuchbury thus describes the locality in which it was found:—

"The quartz lode from which the large 'hundredweight mass' was obtained, is of considerable size, perhaps ten or twelve acres in visible extent, remaining as a hummock in the midst of the flat, having withstood the disintegrating influence of the atmosphere."

My first visit to the gold-mines of the colony was paid in the month of October, 1851; having been staying for a day previous at the heads of the Turon River with the late Mr. Cadell, of Ben Bullen. On Friday, the 3rd of October, I started from Ben Bullen for Sofala; and at the point where the track leads off to the left from the Mudgee Road, I was relieved from all apprehensions as to finding the route, of which I had been furnished with a general description by Mr. Cadell, by coming up with a party of mounted diggers, who were travelling in the same direction, and most of whom had been on the Turon before. For the first eight miles the route (for there is no road, in the European sense of the word) traverses a hilly country, affording good pasture for sheep; it then leads down, by a steep descent, into the

valley of the Bandinora Creek, a little way above its junction with the Turon. There is a beautiful flat here, with excellent grass, at which we halted for an hour, to give our horses a feed, as grass is rather scanty down the river. We then remounted, and made the best of our way along the banks of the river; sometimes crossing over the intervening hill to shorten the distance, when it made a great sweep either to the right or left.

In the upper part of its course, where the beauties of nature had not been defaced and destroyed by the sacrificial intrusion of the digger, the Turon was really a beautiful river. Its valley is very narrow, being walled in by nearly perpendicular cliffs of indurated clay slate, or argillaceous schistus, of a chocolate colour, but *without the veins of quartz that are found at Ophir*; but it ever and anon leaves a small flat, now on the one side and then on the other, which is uniformly covered with clumps of the beautiful swamp-oak (*Casuarina paludosa*) of the colony. The banks of the Turon are fringed with these beautiful trees all along, wherever there is standing ground between the river and the cliffs. One of these flats, about five or six miles above Sofala, is of much larger dimensions than most of the others, expanding into a plain of considerable extent; and here again, in consideration of the short commons that were awaiting our horses at the diggings, we called a halt, and allowed the animals another hour's grass. Mr. Cadell had given me a pocketful of biscuits before starting in the morning, telling me there were no inns by the way. These I had shared with my fellow-travellers at our first stopping-place on the Bandinora Creek; and they now returned the compliment, by kindling a fire, and making a tin-potful of tea, of which they presented me with a tin jugful, with a piece of damper, or unleavened bread baked in the ashes, and a bit of bacon, roasted on the end of a twig at the fire. In half an hour after mounting our horses once

more, we were suddenly in the midst of the diggers ; and as I happened at the time to be identified throughout the colony with the cause of the people, while the miners generally had been anxiously watching the progress of the then recent general election in Sydney, and sympathizing cordially with its result in placing me at the head of the poll, I experienced, most unexpectedly, quite an enthusiastic reception the whole way along the river banks to Sofala. The distance from Ben Bullen to Sofala is twenty-eight miles.

The plain of Sofala is situated on the left bank of the Turon River, the ground rising gradually with a gentle ascent as you recede from the banks. It is remarkably well situated for a town ; the country behind it, as well as on the opposite bank of the river, rising rapidly into hills of considerable elevation. At the period of my visit, the town of Sofala was a mere collection of calico tents of all sorts and sizes, and inhabited by persons of all grades and occupations, who were either engaged themselves in the operation of digging, or in keeping stores or shops for the sale of all descriptions of goods disposable at the mines. It had a post-office, a coach-office, a circus, and a royal hotel. The last of these establishments, at which I took up my abode during my stay, consisted merely of a covering of white calico, stretched over a framework of rough saplings, but sufficiently pervious to both wind and rain. The town has been greatly improved since that period ; buildings of all kinds, of a more permanent character, having been erected, and society placed as it were upon its proper basis. Still, however, it was an extraordinary place even then ; and sure I am there was nothing in the Great Exhibition of 1851, in the British metropolis, that was calculated to awaken more interesting associations, or to open up more animating prospects for suffering oppressed humanity, than the grand contemporary exhibition at Sofala, in Australia.

I spent the whole of Saturday, the 4th of October, in visiting and inspecting the different diggings, from Sheep Station Point, below Sofala, to Oakey Creek, above it ; the principal diggings of the Turon being situated between these points. The gold that had then been found on the Turon and its tributaries was exclusively alluvial gold, with occasional nuggets or lumps of several ounces. No light has as yet been thrown on the question as to how or where it had its origin, or how it had obtained its actual form. It was sufficiently obvious that it did not originate in the argillaceous schistus that forms the cliffs along the river banks, which are not traversed, as at Ophir, by veins of auriferous quartz ; and, contrary to all expectation, it had not been found to increase in size towards the sources of the river.

At Sheep Station Point, on the right bank, or opposite side of the river from Sofala, so called from its having previously been the sheep-station of a squatter—all unconscious of the riches underneath him—the river sweeps round a point, leaving a considerable breadth of gravelly, shingly beach, which is always overflowed with the slightest rise of the waters ; and behind this lower level there is a pretty steep bank, rising, like a terrace, to a considerable height above the reach of floods ; the white tents of the diggers being ranged along the face of the hill a little way up from the bank. At this point there were numerous parties at work on the lower level, all along the river, while others had formed extensive excavations, resembling gravel-pits, in the face of the bank. In both localities, some had been remarkably successful, while others, with apparently equal intelligence and energy, had scarcely cleared their expenses. At a point near the river, in this locality, I saw a decently-attired, motherly sort of woman, with a straw bonnet on, *rocking a cradle* ; which, however, was filled with stones and earth, instead

of the usual occupant of such a piece of furniture in the old country. Her party consisted of her husband, her son, and herself—*they* performing the digging part of the process, and *she* rocking the cradle. They were all from the North of Ireland. I asked the good woman how they had succeeded, and she gave me to understand that they had been doing very well; in proof of which she pulled out of her pocket a small parcel, very carefully tied up in a series of envelopes, which, on disengaging it, proved to be a nugget of apparently pure gold, of more than three ounces in weight, which she told me, with some degree of self-complacency, she had found in her cradle a day or two before. I learned afterwards that this party had been uncommonly successful; getting four or five ounces a day for a considerable time, while other parties in the same locality had been doing equally well.

The process of mining for alluvial gold is very simple, but at the same time sufficiently laborious; and any person who serves a regular apprenticeship to the occupation may consider himself qualified in every respect for any sort of earth-work which the humblest navvy from the Green Isle has to perform on an English or American railway. In the first place there are holes to be dug on the river bank, of all dimensions, from that of an infant's grave, which the experimental diggings of the prospectors very much resemble, to that of a saw-pit or a full-sized quarry. Then, after picking out all the large stones, and carefully scraping them with a knife to remove any specks of gold that may be adhering to their surface, and piling them up, like shot in a battery, to be out of the way, there is the whole of the remaining stuff to be wheeled down in a wheelbarrow, or carried in buckets, or in bags like regular coal bags in London, to the bank of the river, where it is deposited in a heap for the operations of the cradler. If the excavation be deep, however, and near the

bed of the river or creek, the water, especially in so wet a season as that of 1851 in New South Wales, will in all likelihood flow in upon the diggers almost as fast as the pit is dug ; and in such a case a pump must be erected to keep the mine clear, and the diggers must take regular " spells " at the pump, like sailors in a leaky ship. If, on the contrary, the digging is a dry digging, above the water level, and far from that indispensable article, as has generally been the case in Victoria, the stuff may be conveyed to the water by animal labour, in a horse or bullock dray; but there was no necessity for anything of this kind at the Turon, the diggings, both there and at Ophir, being all near the water.

The cradle is very appropriately named, not only from its striking resemblance to that indispensable article of household furniture in all thriving families, but from the process of rocking, for which it is intended, and which is duly provided for by precisely the same mechanical contrivance underneath, with the addition of an upright handle or rocker. The body of the cradle is divided by two cross pieces of wood or ledges into three shallow compartments, and it is slightly inclined towards the foot ; the cradle being fixed on the bank of the river or creek where water is always within reach. Over the compartment of the cradle in which the child's pillow should be found, a square moveable box is placed, with a bottom of thin iron plate, drilled full of holes. This box or hopper is first filled with a shovelful or two of stuff from the heap, and the artist straightway seizing the handle or rocker of the cradle with his left hand, dips a tin jug or ladle fixed to the end of a staff, which he holds in his right hand, into the water, and pours it over the stuff, while he rocks the cradle to and fro. When this process has been performed sufficiently to wash off all the sand and earth from the stones in the box or hopper, the cradler examines the latter care-

fully; for who knows but he may find a nugget in the cradle like the North of Ireland woman at Sheep Station Point? When he has ascertained, perhaps with a heavy heart, that there is nothing of the kind, and has scraped off with a knife the dirt still adhering to the larger stones, and given the whole mass another drenching, he throws out the stones on a separate heap, usually called "tailings," and repeats the process perhaps ten or twelve, or, according to the nature of the stuff that has been passed through the cradle, even fourteen or fifteen times. In the meantime the heavier matter that has passed through the holes of the box or hopper has been accumulating along the upper surfaces of the transverse pieces or ledges that divide the bottom of the cradle into compartments, the lighter earth or sand being washed over at the foot. The residuum is then carefully collected with a knife or spatula in a shallow tin pan fifteen or eighteen inches in diameter, exactly like those used in farm-houses in Scotland for holding milk. When the whole of the residuum has been collected in this receptacle, the operator, placing himself on the river-bank and taking a quantity of water into the pan by inclining it into the stream, gives the whole contents a circular motion, keeping the pan slightly inclined, that all the lighter matter may be washed over the lower edge of it, and all the heavier, including of course the gold, left behind. This process, which is always conducted by the chief man of the party, is rather a tedious one, occupying from twenty minutes to half an hour, and requires considerable skill in its performance; as otherwise the lighter specks of gold may be washed over, along with the lighter and less valuable matter, from the centrifugal impulse communicated to the mass. The substance that is always the last to be disengaged from the gold is a black ferruginous sand, which the miners generally mistake for emery. It is one of the uniform accompaniments

of alluvial gold, and the use of the magnet has often to be resorted to in the last resource to disengage it from the more precious metal. At the termination of the process, the pure gold, consisting of grains, laminæ, and minute specks, is found at the bottom of the tin pan, from which it is transferred into the leather bag or tin box which the party have provided for the purpose; the quantum varying according to the productiveness of the ground from a few pennyweights to an ounce or two.

It will doubtless be considered somewhat remarkable that men who have never been accustomed before to hard labour of any kind should continue to labour in this way week after week without intermission, with hard fare and hard lodging all the while; but there is a powerful motive to exertion supplied from time to time in the extraordinary instances that are always occurring of individual success. A Scotchman, for instance, of the name of Henderson, at Ophir, brought up with a single stroke of his pick a nugget of 46 ounces, the sight of which was almost too much for his weak nerves. This was the first instance of a large lump being found; but many considerably larger have been found since, chiefly on the Turon and its tributaries. Several lumps of from 50 to 70 ounces have been found, and a lump of not less than 27 lbs., which sold in Sydney for upwards of 1100*l.* It had been dug up by a miner of the name of Hinnigan at the Turon River. In the view of these remarkable instances of success,—

“Hope springs eternal in the *miner’s* breast.”

The next point I visited below Sofala was Lucky Point, the principal and most successful digger at which was a Mr. West, of Bathurst, a native of the colony, and the son of a very old colonist. Mr. West merely superintended the work, which was performed by a party of hired labourers. In this locality the gold, which was chiefly of a lamellar

character, was obtained in greatest quantity in a stratum of bluish clay, which occurs at a depth of ten or twelve feet and upwards, and in which, when dug up and exposed to the light, the laminæ are seen here and there, like small patches of gilding on some old article of furniture from which the rest has been worn off. Mr. West had a pump in operation in his pit when I passed, and he was getting up as much of the auriferous clay as possible on Saturday to commence washing on Monday morning, as the hole would then be quite full of water *from the intermission of labour on the intervening Sabbath.* He had got up about two or three cartfuls of the clay to the surface when I saw him, and he told me quite confidently, from his previous experience of its yield, that he would get eight ounces of gold from the quantity I saw. The hired labourers were receiving at the time thirty shillings a week and their rations. Mr. West's party had on one occasion obtained five pounds of gold in four days; and the whole quantity they had obtained up to a considerable time previous to my visit had amounted to 35 lbs.

The next point I visited higher up was Maitland Point, so called from its having been principally occupied by parties of miners from Maitland, Hunter's River. Some of them had been remarkably successful, while others had been only clearing their expenses, or scarcely even so much. The excavations into the steep bank in this locality were quite formidable in their appearance, and showed that there had been a prodigious expenditure of labour on the spot for the time that had elapsed since the discovery of the mines. The chief hopes of the miners, however, at Maitland Point, were centred in the channel or bed of the river itself, which they confidently expected would prove very rich; but they were sadly incommoded with the superabundance of water. For, while the bed of the Turon has, in former years, been often dry for months together in seasons of drought, the

water at such times being found only in holes or pools here and there, the season of 1851 was a remarkably wet one, and extensive preparations had no sooner been made in various localities for mining across the channel, than another flood ensued, filling up the holes and sweeping everything moveable away. In one of these floods the water came down so suddenly that a shipmaster, of the name of Robinson, who had sunk a regular mine on Oakey Creek, one of the auriferous tributaries of the Turon, was drowned in the excavation before he could effect his escape.

Along the plain of Sofala, where the river frontage was entirely occupied with a series of diggings, some as usual were doing pretty well, while others had met with but indifferent success. The number of Scotchmen seemed to me unusually large at the mines generally, in proportion to the whole mining population. This is not to be ascribed, however, to their inordinate love of gold, in comparison with other people, but simply to the fact of their being generally better able to fit themselves out for the mines; many of them being industrious mechanics, small farmers on their own account, or people who could leave their ordinary occupation for a time in charge of their relations, till they had made the grand experiment for themselves. On asking some of these miners how they had succeeded, I obtained rather an ambiguous answer, expressive of disappointment, although they evidently did not like to acknowledge the fact. From others, however, and in many more instances than I anticipated, I was gratified to find I obtained in quite a different tone of voice, the well-known characteristic Scotch answer, "We canna complean, sir." For when a Scotchman acknowledges that he has no reason to complain, it may safely be inferred that he has been doing particularly well.

Golden Point, which I next visited, is situated on the opposite side of the river, about a mile or two up from Sofala. One of the principal and most successful miners in

this locality was a Mr. Smythe, a barrister from Dublin, who very politely showed me over the neighbourhood, and gave me a small nugget, enclosing a fragment of quartz, of sufficient size for a breast-pin, as a memorial of my visit. Mr. Smythe was in partnership with a Mr. Roberts, a solicitor from Sydney. They had gone to work, I believe, pretty much like other diggers at first; but being very successful, they had subsequently hired a number of labourers, and were occupying themselves merely in directing and superintending the operations. The gold in this locality was what is called grain gold, and is found principally in a stratum of ochreous loam, or yellowish argillaceous earth, mixed with pebbles of quartz and large stones; the whole mass being firmly compacted, as if it had been hardened and baked, either from subterraneous heat or from long exposure to a hot sun. Mr. Smythe's next neighbour, a Mr. Williams, had also been remarkably successful.

Mr. Smythe showed me a regular mine which had been formed in his own immediate neighbourhood at Golden Point, by a party of mechanics, but not practical miners, to the depth of thirty feet from the surface. They had constructed a regular staircase, in a most workmanlike manner, in the hard stuff of which the superincumbent strata consisted, in order to reach the stratum of ochreous loam to which I have just alluded. The whole of this stratum they had dug out as far as their claim extended; propping up the earth, as in coal-pits, by piles of stone; and when the claim was exhausted, they had moved off in a body to some other locality.

A mile or two farther up the stream, there was a large assemblage of diggers at a place called Oakey Creek Point, a mountain torrent of that name falling into the river on the opposite side. As at Sheep Station there was a considerable extent of low shingly beach along the bank of the river, at this point.

terrace in the rear. The diggers had been chiefly on the lower level when I visited the locality ; but shortly afterwards, a party from Sydney, having struck into the terraced bank, lighted upon what was technically called a "pocket," into which some eddy, in a time of flood, when the level of the river had been much higher than it is now, had washed in a large quantity—many pounds weight—of gold.

It was calculated that there were from 12,000 to 15,000 persons on the Turon and its tributaries at the period of my visit. Shortly thereafter, many of the unsuccessful diggers gave up mining on their own account, and either left the mines, or hired themselves out to more successful miners ; a considerable number of whom thus became extensive employers of mining labour, and were working simultaneously a whole series of claims. A Scotchman, a college-bred man, whom I had carried out to the colony in the capacity of a schoolmaster, in the year 1837, and who had been regularly employed in that capacity, in various localities, up to the year 1851, had been attracted to the mines shortly after their discovery, and been remarkably successful. When I last heard of him, he had six different parties of hired labourers at work at six different mines or claims. The sale and purchase of claims had also become a regular branch of business at the mines ; thirty, forty, fifty, or even a hundred pounds, being not unfrequently given for a claim ; and one of great promise had been sold as high even as 700*l.*

I had caused it to be announced at the different diggings, on Saturday, that I should conduct Divine Service in the morning of the Lord's day at Sofala, and in the afternoon at Oakey Creek Point. I had had the offer of the Royal Circus,—which had been erected on the day previous, and had been occupied, for the first time, for the exhibition of feats of horsemanship, on the Saturday evening,—as a

temporary place of worship. It was found, however, when the hour of meeting arrived, that it was much too small, although it had been constructed to accommodate a thousand persons, and we had therefore to adjourn to the open air. I took up my position in front of a tree, which threw a scanty shade upon the face of the hill where the vast congregation, of about three thousand persons, were ranged in a semicircular form ; the front ranks sitting on the grass, and those behind standing on the declivity of the hill. A few were attired in their "Sunday suits," which they had carried up with them for such occasions ; but nine-tenths of the whole assemblage were in the regular costume of the miners. The precentor, or "chief musician," of my congregation in Sydney, having arrived at the mines as a digger only a few days before, had in the meantime formed an extempore choir, with the assistance of members of the different Evangelical communions from Sydney, whom he had found at the mines, and the psalmody was accordingly conducted in a superior manner ; the full volume of sound from so great a multitude, of whom a large majority joined heartily in this part of the service, as it pealed along the Valley of the Turon, reverberating from hill to hill, and from rock to rock, being in the highest degree impressive and overpowering. The service was conducted agreeably to the customs of the Presbyterian Church, my discourse being founded on Luke xxiv. 36 : *And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.* There was not only the utmost decorum throughout, but the audience appeared to listen to the very close of the service with the deepest attention ; and the whole scene naturally suggested to the mind the sermons that were delivered in somewhat similar circumstances, as to externals, to thousands of hearers on the shores of the Sea of Galilee by the Divine Teacher himself ; while the numerous white

tents in view, on hill and in valley, afforded no unapt representation of the ancient Feast of Tabernacles.

At the close of the service I delivered an Address to the diggers, which was cordially received, and was afterwards published in the "Bathurst Free Press."⁸

In the afternoon, I conducted divine service again at Oakey Creek Point, about three miles from Sofala, where I had a congregation of about a thousand persons; the place where I stood in front of another tree on the very edge of the terraced bank, being quite close to the spot where the large pocketful of gold, which I have already mentioned, was discovered shortly afterwards by the fortunate party of miners from Sydney.

On the Sabbath I spent at the Turon River, divine service had been performed, for the Roman Catholic miners, by Archbishop Polding, on an eminence on the opposite side of the river from Sofala; as also by one of the Episcopalian clergymen of the colony for the members of the Church of England, at Golden Point.

There is no industrial operation so uncertain and so peculiarly subject to fluctuations of all kinds as gold mining. At one time there is the utmost excitement in favour of mining generally; at others, there is an equally strong reaction, and the gold-fields are almost deserted. At one time there is a great scarcity of water in particular localities; at others, there is a great deal too much.

At the same time there is no class of men of such migratory habits, or so apt to be influenced to change their actual habitation, however comfortable it may be, on the merest rumour of a new gold-field, however remote, than gold miners.

There have been frequent rushes of population to new gold-fields in New South Wales, during the last twelve or

⁸ The reader will find a copy of it in Appendix VII.

fifteen years—first to Burrangong or the Lambing Flat, and second to the Lachlan diggings, both in 1861; third to Kiandra on the Snowy Mountains; and fourth to Grenfell in the south-western country in later years. I found a very large mining population at the first and second of these gold-fields in 1862; but as the gold was alluvial in both of them, it was exhausted in a few years, and the population gradually moved off to other localities: not entirely, however, as I have shown above in the case of Young on the Burrangong Creek, and of Forbes on the Lachlan diggings; a sufficient number having remained behind in both of these cases to found two very promising towns in two very important localities, which, in all likelihood, would otherwise not have been reached by the colonial population for half a century to come; the one being 250 miles from Sydney in one direction, and the other 260 in another. Kiandra was too cold a place for Australians to retain population when the gold became exhausted, and Grenfell, although its alluvial gold has been worked out, having rich quartz reefs and much quartz-crushing machinery, is likely to maintain its existence as a gold-field somewhat longer. Quartz-crushing is now almost the exclusive source of the gold produce of the colony.

The Ballarat gold-field of Victoria was discovered in the month of August, 1851. On the discovery of its hidden treasures, the rush to the diggings in Victoria was, beyond all comparison, greater than it had ever been to those of New South Wales—partly because the feelings of the inhabitants of that province had been wound up to the highest pitch by the previous discoveries in the older colony; partly because the gold-fields of Victoria were much nearer the principal towns, and therefore more easily accessible, and partly, perhaps, because they were richer, on the whole, than the New South Wales diggings—although this is somewhat problematical.

Like the good land in Victoria, the gold-field of that colony is more compact, and therefore "looms in the distance" much more favourably; but it is by no means certain that it is richer on the whole than the many and scattered fields of New South Wales. Nay, considering the comparative numbers engaged respectively at the mines in both colonies, it is a matter of question whether the miners in New South Wales have not got as much per head as those in Victoria. It is at least certain, that the mines of New South Wales have latterly been very productive; and the fact that at an early period parties of miners, who had left the Turon and gone to Victoria, had afterwards returned to their old "claims," is very significant. It was not because these parties could not find gold in Victoria that they had returned to New South Wales; but because the vast assemblage of people at the Victoria mines had made everything so dear and so uncomfortable that they found themselves better off on the whole at their old diggings on the Turon. Up to the 26th of July (1852), there had been exported from New South Wales gold to the amount of 1,759,745*l.* at the rate of 3*l.* 5*s.* per ounce. The export from Victoria had then been about 2,400,000*l.*; or upwards of four millions sterling from both colonies. It must be borne in mind, however, that for a considerable time after the gold discovery, the number of miners at the Victoria diggings was probably more than double the number at any period at the mines of New South Wales. On the 1st of April, 1852, for example, it was estimated by the President of the Chamber of Commerce at Melbourne, that there were then about 50,000 persons at the Victoria mines, while the yield at the same time was about 100,000*l.* per week, or at the rate of 2*l.* per head; but the whole number at the New South Wales mines, at the period of my visit in October, 1851, was not more than 15,000, and the number diminished very considerably thereafter. One good reason for this

diminution was that the Squatter Government of the day had, in order to prevent the shepherds and stockmen from leaving the squatting stations for the diggings, imposed upon the miners the monstrous tax of thirty shillings a month for a licence to dig for gold! The tax is now ten shillings a year.

When the discovery of an extensive gold-field in the interior of New South Wales was first announced, many good people were at a loss to decide whether the wonderful event should be regarded as a gift of God, or a temptation of the devil. But all uncertainty on this subject was soon at an end : the evil necessarily incident to the great discovery, it was soon found, was but limited in extent and would prove but of brief duration ; while the good that was sure to flow from it would be extensive and lasting. The excitement it produced necessarily deranged for a time the whole social system of the colony—to a much less extent, however, in New South Wales than in Victoria ; and it occasioned in not a few instances much inconvenience, and even considerable hardship, suffering, and loss. But the evils of this kind that were experienced throughout the colony were much fewer and smaller than could have been anticipated : particular interests and particular individuals suffered considerably for a time from the social derangement that ensued ; but the general operations of the colony were carried on in much the usual way notwithstanding. Seed-time and harvest were neither forgotten nor neglected ; the sheep were all shorn, and the wool conveyed to Sydney for shipment as usual ; the boiling-down establishments slaughtered their myriads of fat sheep and cattle as before, and the exports, except in the article of gold, scarcely varied from those of former years. In short, it was rather a temporary stoppage or retardation in the onward march of improvement that was experienced than any loss of the ground that had been already secured. Divine Providence

indeed appears to have beneficially postponed the discovery of gold in Australia till the colonists were quite able to sustain the shock which it necessarily occasioned, and till they had it completely in their power to make adequate provision for the extraordinary emergency, without sacrificing either the existence or the comforts of society.

How remarkably different was the state of things in California, where the wonderful discovery took the whole civilized world by surprise, when the country was an untenanted wilderness and totally unprepared for the great emergency! Provisions of all kinds were in such circumstances enormously high, and labour equally so; while comfortable lodging, in a climate that is not only insalubrious but rigorous, was not to be procured—insomuch that thousands sank prematurely into the grave, from the privations and hardships they had to encounter, and the diseases that supervened. Valuable merchandize also was destroyed in vast quantities in that country, from the mere inability of the owners or consignees to pay the enormous sums that were demanded for warehouse-rent and other charges. A respectable shipmaster, a native of New South Wales, who had been trading to San Francisco, informed me that he had actually seen whole barrels of pork, beef, tobacco, and flour, filled in several feet deep as mere rubbish along the beach in that city, where wharves or stores were erecting, on rows of piles carried out into the deep water; and the total estimated loss at the time to the unfortunate exporters of the Eastern States amounted to ninety-eight millions of dollars, i. e. nearly twenty millions sterling! Now there was nothing of this kind in New South Wales. After the first few weeks had passed over, provisions of all kinds, especially butcher-meat of the best quality, were nearly as cheap at the mines as in all other parts of the colony. With the exception of the necessary effects of hard labour under a hot sun, the health of the miners generally was rather

improved than otherwise, from the superior salubrity of the more elevated regions ; and no loss of any kind, beyond what is everywhere contingent on the fluctuations of trade, had been sustained, or was likely to be sustained, on merchandise imported from the mother country.

The discovery of the Australian gold-fields has unquestionably been already attended with very important results, not only to the Australian colonies generally, but to Great Britain and to the whole civilized world. From the extensive emigration to which it gave rise in the first instance, to the Australian colonies—5000 a week for a time—on the one hand, and the extraordinary impulse it has given to trade of all kinds on the other, it has been sensibly diminishing the three great evils that have been afflicting society in the mother country more and more every successive year for the last half-century—I mean competition, pauperism, and crime. It has been attracting to the golden lands of the South numerous intelligent and enterprising individuals in all branches of business, and of all grades and professions, thereby insuring a more eligible field and a fairer prospect for those who remain. It has been carrying off numerous handicraftsmen and labourers, and thereby insuring “a fair day’s wages for a fair day’s work” for those they have left behind. And by thus diminishing poverty and misery, which are uniformly the prolific source of crime in densely peopled countries, and thereby ameliorating the general condition of the humbler classes, it has been thinning the ranks of the criminal population by stopping the supplies from without. It has given a wonderful impulse in the meantime to the shipping interest as well as to trade generally in the mother country, and has thereby been materially improving the general condition of the people.

It is evident, moreover, that the population that is now directing its course to Australia is in great measure a *Protestant* population. As the feeble and effete Protestantism of

Ireland has, from obvious causes, been unable to cope with the rampant Popery of that country for three centuries past, Divine Providence is now drafting off that awkward element to America, to be there neutralized and assimilated by the vigorous Protestantism of that young country; while it is chiefly the Protestantism of the United Kingdom that has been sending forth its myriads of representatives to Australia since the discovery of gold in that country. Whether it happened from design or from neglect, Irish Romanism has all along, as I have observed in a former part of this work, had much more of the benefit of free emigration to Australia than its due proportion; but the tables are effectually turned now. There can no longer be any fear of Romish ascendancy in Australia; and it will, therefore, be a Protestant, and not a Roman Catholic population that will henceforth acquire influence and power and predominance in the Southern Hemisphere, and that will impress its own energetic character upon the multitude of the isles of the vast Pacific and of the Indian Archipelago.

There is nothing more remarkable, indeed, nothing more cheering, in the present aspect of the civilized world, than the thoroughly Protestant character of the two great streams of emigration that have been flowing simultaneously to the opposite coasts of the Pacific. As far as Europe and Christendom were concerned, Spain and the Papacy had, till yesterday, as it were, exclusive possession of both coasts of that vast ocean for three long centuries. To the eastward, the domain of these two enemies of human progress extended, undisputed, from Cape Horn to the Columbia River; and to the westward, the Phillipine Isles, at the very gates of China, were their exclusive possession. And what have they done for the vast regions that were thus so long under their exclusive influence,—so long subject to their power? What, I ask, have they done

them? Echo will answer in three expressive words,—*Done for them!* Protestantism, however, is now to have her turn on the opposite shores of that vast ocean—American Protestantism in California and the Oregon Territory, and British Protestantism in Australia and the multitude of the Isles. In my humble opinion, this is the commencement of one of the brightest chapters in the history of man. As soon as a population of British origin plants itself upon the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and extends its influence far and wide, as it will do very soon, over the Indian Archipelago, the Dutch will have “notice to quit” these regions, in which they have so long proved unworthy of their power, and unfaithful to their trust. So also, I think, will the Spaniards in the Philippines. Governments, conducted on the principles on which both of these nations have been acting for three centuries, in the far East, will never be able to maintain their ground in the immediate vicinity of a community of British origin, acting out the principles of Free Trade with the characteristic energy of their race, and respecting and maintaining the rights of men. In short, whenever we plant a thoroughly British community in the Gulf of Carpentaria, which we shall soon do now, both the Spaniard and the Dutchman may put up their shutters, and join the “Early Closing Association” when they please.

Through the discovery of gold in Australia, and the consequent influx of population from the mother-country, the ascendancy of the squatters of the Australian colonies has virtually ceased and determined. The object of these gentlemen was to occupy and engross the country for themselves exclusively, to partition it out in immense sheep-walks and cattle-runs, and (virtually) to prevent the influx and settlement of an agricultural population. Their object, in other words, was to keep the people down when they were down, and to give them no chance of rising for the future; and

it must be confessed that the Colonial Office had given them all necessary aid for the accomplishment of this object, through the Act of Parliament which was passed at its instance in the year 1846, and to which I have already alluded, as well as through the still more discreditable Act of 1855, in handing over to a mere clique of Australian Squatters, the noble inheritance of the people of England in the waste lands of Australia. But this game is now *up*, and the days of squatting—in the sense of a powerful political party for whose aggrandizement the interests of the public were so long compromised and sacrificed—are now ended. Like the Grave, the Diggings have already levelled these past distinctions, and they are fast placing the wealth and property of the country in the hands of men of nerve and sinew—men of industry and perseverance—men of honesty and integrity; who are perfectly willing to accord to others all they claim for themselves—"a fair field and no favour."

To conclude, it will be utterly hopeless, under the new order of things which the gold discovery has originated, to maintain the existing relations of sovereignty and dependence between Great Britain and her Australian colonies much longer. These relations must inevitably be dissolved in due time, to be superseded by an order of things more accordant with the rights of men, the law of nature, and the ordinance of God. It is a consummation, indeed, devoutly to be wished, that this dissolution, when it takes place, as it must ere long, should be accomplished peacefully, and with the entire concurrence, as it will certainly be for the best interests, of all parties concerned; and not by violence and bloodshed, as in the case of America—to leave centuries of heart-burning and ill-will between the parent and her child. By simply doing what certain of her own ablest statesmen have actually recommended—Mr. Huskisson, for example, Lord Brougham, Lord St. Vincent,

Lord Ellenborough—that is, by taking the initiative in holding out to her Australian colonies their entire freedom and independence, Great Britain has it fully in her power to give these colonies such a political form and constitution as would not only insure their rapid and lasting prosperity, but enable them to form one of the greatest empires of the future on the face of the earth. She may yet lick the young bears into proper shape: it will not be in her power to do so much longer now.⁴

I append to this chapter the following Returns from the Statistical Register of the colony, viz.:—

Return, showing the quantity and value of gold received by Escort from the several gold-fields of the Colony in the year 1872:—

	Quantity.	Value.
Western District	307,266·94 ounces	£1,194,323 8 11
Southern	74,807·81 "	280,679 6 9
Northern	10,111·61 "	38,183 5 0
	<hr/> 392,186·36 , ,	<hr/> £1,513,186 0 8

Decennial Return, showing the quantity and value of gold received by Escort into the Branch Royal Mint from the several gold districts of the colony:—

Year.	Quantity.	Value.
1863	423,407 ounces	£1,629,049
1864	316,430 "	1,211,170
1865	280,810 "	1,077,905
1866	241,489 "	928,275
1867	222,715 "	863,798
1868	229,739 "	894,829
1869	224,382 "	886,746
1870	198,664 "	763,655
1871	296,928 "	1,143,781
1872	392,186 , ,	1,513,186

⁴ The reader will find these ideas wrought out at much greater length in the work already referred to; viz., "The Coming Event; or, Freedom and Independence for the Seven United Provinces of Australia." London: Sampson Low and Co., 1870.

CHAPTER XI.

VIEW OF THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF EDUCATION IN
NEW SOUTH WALES.

"I devote all my energies to the cause of learning. It is necessary, by our example, to stimulate the young to an admiration and love of learning for its own sake, apart from any profit to be derived from it. The ruin of all else follows the decay of learning—religion, morals, divine and human things, alike. The better a man is, the greater his desire for the preservation of learning; since he knows that of all plagues, ignorance is the most pernicious."

MELANCHTHON.

AT the era of Sir Richard Bourke's famous despatch of 1833, on the churches and schools of New South Wales, there were thirty-five primary or public schools in the colony, all of which were under the superintendence of the colonial clergy of the Church of England. The number of children of both sexes attending these schools was 1248, and their estimated cost was 2756*l.*; each school having thus an average attendance of thirty-five children, and costing the public 78*l.* 15*s.* yearly. Their general character is significantly declared by Sir Richard Bourke in the following expression: "They are of no great importance or value."

In the despatch referred to, Sir Richard Bourke had recommended to Lord Stanley that the Irish system of education should be established in New South Wales; but Lord Glenelg, who had in the meantime succeeded Lord Stanley, had expressed his own preference in his Reply, for the British and Foreign system, of which it was a fundamental principle that the Holy Scriptures in the authorized

version should be read in the schools. At the same time he sanctioned the establishment of the Irish system, if it could be effected ; with a proviso, however, for the public support of such schools as the different religious denominations of the colony might be disposed to establish under the superintendence of their respective communions.

On receiving Lord Glenelg's reply to his despatch, Sir Richard Bourke announced his desire and intention that a general system of education, corresponding to the Irish National system, should be established in the colony. This announcement, however, was received with much dissatisfaction and opposition by all the Protestant communions of the colony ; and having taken a prominent part in that opposition myself—partly at public meetings which were held on the subject, and partly through the press—I can answer for that portion of the community with which I co-operated on the occasion as to the grounds on which it was based.

It originated, therefore, in some measure in misapprehension as to the real character and tendency of the Irish system, which was almost universally regarded at the time as an antichristian and infidel system, in the establishment of which no conscientious Protestant of any denomination could acquiesce.

It originated partly also in the general belief of the colonial Protestants at the time, that a system analogous to that of the British and Foreign Society, under which the Holy Scriptures of the authorized version should be used in the schools, could be established in the colony, and would unite the great majority of the general population in its support. And

Finally, it originated in a want of experience in regard to the inefficiency and extravagance of the Denominational system.

The result, therefore, was the establishment of th-

Denominational system, under which the public funds available for the promotion of education were apportioned out to the different religious communions of the colony, each of which accordingly endeavoured to establish as many schools and to obtain as large a portion of the public funds as possible; all that Sir Richard Bourke could effect for the realization of his own views being the establishment of a single school on the National system in the district of Illawarra.

Having had occasion to visit Dublin, however, when in England in the year 1837, I took an opportunity of waiting on the Secretary of the National Board in that city, the Rev. Dr. Carlyle, with whom I had previously been acquainted, to ascertain the nature and character of the Irish system for myself, to examine its books and to inquire into its general details; and the result of my inquiry, conjoined with the light which had in the meantime broken in upon the question from other quarters, was a complete change of opinion as to the propriety of the course I had taken on the question of general education in New South Wales. With a large Roman Catholic population, indeed, it was hopeless to have the schools of the colony established on an exclusively Protestant basis; and to have them established on the basis of our common Christianity, which, it appeared to me, those of the Irish National Board undoubtedly were, was all that could be effected for the general advantage, in a country of so mixed and withal so heterogeneous a population.

Besides, it was soon ascertained that there was no hope of combining even the Protestants of the colony in the support of any system of education to be established on the basis of the British and Foreign Society's Schools. The Holy Scriptures alone were found to be as unpalatable to the largest Protestant denomination in the colony as the Holy Scriptures at all were to the Roman Catholics. On

the part of the Anglo-Catholic bishop and his clergy, there was to be no dealing, in the matter of education, with mere Protestant *Samaritans*.

But the natural results of the Denominational system, as they were progressively developed in the colony, soon opened the eyes of many, who had been either mistaken or deceived in the first instance, to the real merits of the question. That system speedily exhibited a mere scramble, on the part of the different ecclesiastical denominations of the colony, for the largest shares respectively of the public funds. Education, instead of being pursued for its own sake, and for that of the benefits and blessings which it would become the channel of imparting to the youth of the colony, became a mere matter of clerical patronage, and a means of reducing the public instructors of youth to a condition of abject servility under the clergy of the different religious denominations. Under such a system, general inefficiency was to be expected as the characteristic of the denominational schools, and general inefficiency was the actual result.

I have already observed that one of the great questions which engaged the attention of the first Legislative Council, during the year 1844, was the question of education; on which there had been a Select Committee appointed in the earlier part of the session, under the chairmanship of Robert Lowe, Esq., a practising barrister in Sydney, who was then merely a Nominee member of our Legislative Council, but who has since become so deservedly famous both in England and throughout the world as the Right Hon. Robert Lowe.¹ That Committee had reported strongly in favour of the National system: and I endeavoured, on the occasion, as a member of the Committee, as well as

¹ I have already stated in a former chapter that, on my obtaining a seat in the Legislative Council, Mr. Lowe requested me to support the adoption of his Report in the Council, which I did accordingly.

the Council, to atone, as much as possible, for the opposition I had given to the establishment of Sir Richard Bourke's system in the year 1835. The question was carried in favour of the National system; but the Governor, Sir George Gipps—in deference, it was believed, to the desire of Bishop Broughton—arbitrarily set aside the vote of the Council, and declared in favour of the Denominational system, which was continued accordingly. The sum of 2000*l.*, however, having been subsequently voted for the establishment of schools on the National system by way of experiment, and a Board having been appointed for their superintendence in the year 1850, the superior working of that system, in comparison with the Denominational schools, gradually wrought conviction in the minds of many who were formerly of a different opinion, as to the greatly superior character and efficiency of the National schools.

At the time when Sir Richard Bourke attempted unsuccessfully to establish the National system, one of its principal advocates was the Rev. Dr. Ullathorne, the Roman Catholic Vicar-General of the colony, now a Romish Bishop at Birmingham, in England; and it was partly owing to his strenuous advocacy of it that a strong prejudice was taken up against it by many Protestant colonists. But ever since the Denominational system came into operation, as it thus did for a time, and placed a large proportion of the funds of the colony in the hands of the Romish priesthood, for the erection and support of schools for the youth of their communion, they have taken quite the opposite course to the one recommended by Dr. Ullathorne, and exhibited the most inveterate hostility towards the National system. With the facts, however, that are now notorious on the subject, it is quite impossible to give any one religious denomination in the colony the credit which they all claim for disinterestedness, and a lively concern for the spiritual

welfare and advancement of the colonial youth, in their opposition to the National system. It is chiefly, if not entirely, a question of self and of power.

The Denominational system having thus been for a long time in almost exclusive possession of the field throughout the colony, the schools under that system were for a long period much more numerous than the National schools. In the year 1850, for example, they were as follows:—

Denominational Schools.

	Vote in aid for 1850.	Number of Children on the Books. ²
Episcopalian	92	5496
Presbyterian	42	2140
Wesleyan Methodist	15	1080
Roman Catholic	36	2865

The Presbyterian schools, it had been discovered by the Romish priests, were thus in excess of their due proportion, according to the previous census. This naturally gave rise to a fresh agitation; and so strongly did the Roman Catholics insist upon having what they called their "rights" under the Denominational system, that the matter was made a party question at the general election of 1851, and a Roman Catholic candidate was actually, though unsuccessfully, brought forward by the Romish priesthood and their adherents in Sydney, to obtain "justice for Ireland" under that system. The only course for the colonists to adopt in such circumstances was to "stop the supplies" for all and sundry, and to take the education of the youth of the colony entirely into their own hands, by means of a National Board, responsible to the Government and free from all priestly control.

On returning to New South Wales, from my first visit to England, in January, 1826, I found that an Educa-

² The average daily attendance being from one-fourth to less.

Institution, designated the *Free Grammar School*, had just been formed in Sydney, on the plan of various institutions of a similar kind in the mother-country; and a few months thereafter, I was utterly astounded, in common with most of the colonists, at the promulgation of a Royal Charter, appointing a Church and School Corporation for the religious instruction of the people, and for the general education of the youth of the colony, *on the principles of the Church of England exclusively*; and allotting a seventh of the whole territory, for that purpose, to the Episcopalian clergy, with free access, in the meantime, to the colonial treasury-chest. In an Act of Parliament, which had been passed about half a century before, it had been enacted that a certain proportion of the waste lands of Upper Canada should be reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy; but as there was a doubt in the province as to who were meant particularly by that designation, the question was referred to the Twelve Judges of England, who decided that the phrase included *other* Protestant clergy besides those of the Church of England. But there was no room left for any such unfortunate mistake in the Act incorporating the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales; which accordingly designated with sufficient accuracy the Protestant Clergy, who were to be charged exclusively with this important trust, and who were to receive this enormous grant of land. It will scarcely be believed, indeed, that so wanton an insult, as this precious document implied, could have been offered to the common sense of a whole community, even by the Tory administration of the period; or that men could have been found in the nineteenth century to perpetrate so gross an outrage on the best feelings of a numerous body of reputable men. But so it was; and the education of the colony thus appeared to have passed completely into the hands of the Church and School Corporation.

The course of the Free Grammar School was short and inglorious. The masters were speedily dismissed; and the patrons of the Institution, who had been at best but a rope of sand, speedily quarrelled with each other, and broke up. By this means, the field of competition was left entirely unoccupied for four or five years together; and during the whole of that period—the period of the high and palmy state of the Church and School Corporation—it was completely in the power of the Archdeacon and the Episcopalian clergy of the colony to have formed a noble institution for the general education of the youth of Australia, with the very crumbs that fell from their Corporation table. Nay, if they had only been possessed of the smallest modicum of common sense that can reasonably be supposed to be allotted to any body of privileged and chartered individuals; or if they had even been actuated by those instinctive feelings of self-preservation, that are commonly supposed to be strongly operative in all such bodies of men; the members of the Corporation might have secured the exclusive predominance of the colonial Episcopacy in the management of the education of the whole colony, for all time coming. But the Venerable the Archdeacon, and the other members of the Church and School Corporation, seem to have been possessed with a spirit of absolute infatuation; which issued at length in the deliverance of the colony from a yoke that would otherwise have proved intolerable in the end, and that would sooner or later have been violently broken during some general burst of public indignation. To think of twelve or fifteen colonial ministers of religion managing for years together to spend public money to the amount of upwards of 20,000*l.* a year, under pretence of providing for the religious instruction and the general education of so small a colony as New South Wales then was, without providing the colony all the while with a single school in which a boy could be taught the simplest

elements of mathematics or the merest rudiments of the Latin tongue—the thing appears so monstrous in the present age of light and of learning, that it would have been absolutely incredible if it had not actually occurred! By one of those strange anomalies, the frequent occurrence of which in all the colonies of the empire evinces the wisdom and beneficence of Imperial Rule, a considerable proportion of the gentlemen who were appointed by Royal Charter to preside over the *department of public instruction* in New South Wales, consisted of persons who had only received the commonest education themselves, and who could not have axed their way through a page of Virgil or Homer to save them from the knout. It was accordingly whispered in the colony, that it was the object and design of the gentlemen I allude to, to prevent the youth of Australia from ever rising superior to their own humble level; and that they had wisely concluded this maxim of a distant age to be in every respect suitable for a distant settlement:—“Ignorance is the mother of devotion.”

Whether the state of things I have thus described arose from incompetency, from covetousness, or from inconsid-
erate extravagance, on the part of those to whom the depart-
ment of public instruction was so long exclusively entrusted
in New South Wales, it is quite unnecessary to inquire. The colonists have at all events learned this important lesson
from the fact—and it is a lesson which will never be for-
gotten—that the interests of general education in that
colony can never be entrusted with safety to the colonial
clergy of any denomination.

It was in these circumstances—after making a series of abortive efforts in the colony for the establishment of an institution for the education of youth of a somewhat higher character than the Corporation Schools—that I was induced to proceed to England for the second time in the year 1830, in the hope that I might be more successful in making the

requisite arrangements *there*. Lord Goderich, afterwards Earl of Ripon, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to whom I applied on the subject, was pleased to lend a favourable ear to my proposals for the establishment of an Academical Institution or College for the education of youth in the town of Sydney, on the general plan of the Belfast Academical Institution, combining a series of elementary schools with a gradually extending provision for the higher branches of education; and he accordingly directed the requisite assistance to be afforded from the colonial treasury, to the extent of 3500*l.*, on condition that a similar amount should have been previously expended from time to time by the promoters of the undertaking. It was to erect the necessary buildings for that Institution that the Scotch mechanics, per the "Stirling Castle," were carried out to the colony in the year 1831.

In the meantime, that which neither common sense nor a sense of public duty had been able to accomplish, was at length effected through the operation of other feelings, which it is not difficult to divine; for, as soon as it was reported in the colony that I was about to return from England with the requisite apparatus, for the establishment of an Academical Institution, the foundations of the Sydney Free Grammar School, which it had been attempted to revive about two years before, under the designation of the Sydney College, were laid. The successful issue, however, of my voyage to England, and the successful establishment of the Institution which I had gone home to establish, were deemed by certain parties connected with the Sydney College, whose public spirit had at length begun to revive after a second torpor of two years' continuance, offences of so peculiar an enormity, as to leave felony itself without benefit of clergy far in the shade. An emancipist who had just been liberated from the Sydney jail, where he had been confined for some time on

charge of fraudulent bankruptcy, harangued a meeting of the friends of the revived Institution, shortly after my return to the colony, and expressed himself in the highest terms relative to the plan and prospects of the Institution I had been instrumental in forming; but informed the meeting, that I had completely forfeited the esteem of the *virtuous and respectable* portion of society, in having obtained assistance from the Home Government, as he presumed I had done, *by calumniating himself and his friends* to Lord Goderich. On this and a variety of other charges equally frivolous and equally unfounded, changes were rung at my particular expense, by various orators of still higher respectability, from meeting to meeting and from month to month; and every foul and slanderous invective that was uttered on these occasions was carefully reported in the colonial newspapers. It was the incessant assault and battery of this kind, to which I was subjected for years together, by these unprincipled journals, and the serious pecuniary loss in which it involved me from the withdrawal of public support from our Institution, that induced me on a subsequent occasion to avail myself of the aid of the press, and to establish a Weekly journal on other and better principles, and with higher and nobler views. And I am happy to add, I uniformly found that so long as I had that powerful engine at my command, it was always comparatively easy to keep the whole pack of colonial curs at bay.

While engaged under such discouragements, in raising the requisite funds for the employment of the Scotch mechanics in the erection of the Educational buildings, I had to experience from a different quarter an assault of a still more formidable character, which almost prostrated myself and nearly ruined the Institution. As the circumstance I refer to relates to a matter of considerable importance at the period, the detail will perhaps not be uninteresting to the reader.

The cry of distress from the agricultural districts of the mother-country was so loud and piercing on my arrival in England in the month of December, 1830—and the impression on my own mind relative to the prosperity and abundance enjoyed by all classes in New South Wales was so fresh and vivid—that, in consequence of some remarks on the subject of emigration to the Australian colonies, which were made by my Lord Howick, now Earl Grey, in the course of a conversation which I had the honour to hold with his lordship in Downing Street, I took the liberty to address a letter to Lord Viscount Goderich, pointing out the means of conveying thousands of the distressed agricultural population of Great Britain without expense to the mother-country, to the colony of New South Wales; where, I was confident, their arrival would be hailed by all classes, and where there was employment in abundance, and bread for all. The sources, from which it was proposed to raise a revenue sufficient for the accomplishment of this important national object, were,—1st, the progressive sale of numerous allotments of building-ground belonging to Government in the town of Sydney, of which I estimated the probable value at the time at not less than 200,000*l.*; and, 2nd, the resumption and sale of the lands granted on certain unfulfilled conditions to the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales. In describing the second of these sources of revenue, I had used the following language:—

“ Your lordship is doubtless aware, that in the year 1825, a Corporation was established by Royal Charter in the colony of New South Wales, to which a seventh of the whole territory was granted for the support of the Episcopal Church and Schools of the colony, on the avowed understanding that the said grant would immediately and for ever relieve the colonial government of the burden of supporting these establishments. Your

lordship is doubtless aware also, that that Institution has utterly failed of its intended object ; the Corporation having actually borrowed from the colonial government at the rate of from 19,000*l* to 22,000*l.* per annum for the support of the Episcopal Church and Schools of the territory, while the mere cost of its management, exclusive of the salaries of clergymen and schoolmasters, has hitherto been from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* per annum—a sum considerably greater than is annually expended for the management of all the Church and School affairs of His Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland.

"But the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales has been productive, my Lord, of still greater evils to the community at large, than any arising from the mere expense of its management. It has tended to identify the Episcopal clergy, in the estimation of the whole colony, with secular pursuits : it has given extreme dissatisfaction to many respectable emigrants, who have had to go far into the colonial wilderness with their families, in search of land to settle on, while numerous tracts of land, of the first quality, were lying utterly waste in the most accessible and eligible situations, in the hands of the Corporation : it has excited a spirit of disaffection towards His Majesty's Government among the native youth of the colony ; and I will even add, my Lord, has sown the seeds of future rebellion. In short, the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales, instead of proving a benefit either to the Government or to the Episcopal Church, as its projectors unfortunately persuaded His Majesty's Government it certainly would, has lain as a dead weight on the colony for the last five years—repressing emigration, discouraging improvement, secularizing the Episcopal clergy, and thereby lowering the standard of morals and religion throughout the territory."

My letter to Lord Goderich was published on my return

to the colony in a pamphlet, containing an "Account of the steps taken in England with a view to the establishment of an Academical Institution or College in New South Wales, and to demonstrate the practicability of effecting an extensive emigration of the industrious classes from the mother-country to that colony;" for it never occurred to me that any remarks I had made in that letter, relative to the character and tendency of the Church and School Corporation scheme, were likely to be construed into a personal attack on the individuals who were accidentally and, as I conceived, unfortunately connected with that system of legalized folly, extravagance, and injustice.

My letter, however, gave prodigious offence to the Venerable the Archdeacon,³ who accordingly addressed a long letter on the subject of its alleged misstatements—containing a feeble defence of the Corporation, and a series of intemperate charges against myself—to Colonel (afterwards Sir Patrick) Lindesay, who was then Acting Governor of New South Wales, with a view to its immediate transmission to Lord Goderich. This letter was signed by the Archdeacon himself, and by the Colonial Secretary, and the Auditor-General, as Commissioners of the Corporation; the management of that institution having in the mean time been transferred to the Archdeacon and certain lay commissioners. It is the customary and established etiquette of the colonies to send a copy of any charges of this kind to the person against whom they are exhibited, in sufficient time to enable him to forward his explanation or reply to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the same opportunity by which the letter of crimination is transmitted against him; and the violation of that etiquette by a certain military officer in the colony, during

³ Afterwards Bishop Broughton.

government of General Darling, occasioned his being cashiered by the Commander-in-Chief, pursuant to the sentence of a court-martial. I was not favoured, however, with a copy of the Archdeacon's letter *till four days after the vessel in which it was transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies had sailed for England*; and it so happened that no other opportunity of writing home presented itself for about two months thereafter!

In consequence of this proceeding, and agreeably to my own anticipations, the first vessel from England brought me a letter of censure from my Lord Goderich for the publication of my letter to his lordship: but whether I ought to consider the censure of the Right Honourable Secretary, passed in such circumstances and procured by such means, at all discreditable to myself as a minister of religion, or whether there was anything in the passage above cited from my letter to his lordship, to call forth such censure at all, the reader will doubtless determine for himself.

I wrote a reply to the Archdeacon's letter, which was forwarded to the Secretary of State by Major-General Sir Richard Bourke, to whom it was addressed, and who had arrived in the colony before the next vessel sailed for England. I shall take the liberty to subjoin the concluding paragraphs of that reply, relative to the concluding paragraph of the Archdeacon's communication; from which the reader will perhaps be able to estimate the spirit in which they were severally written:—

"In the conclusion of their letter the Commissioners express themselves in the following manner relative to myself:—'Embarked in an undertaking in which he felt it impossible to succeed, without degrading the Established Church in his lordship's estimation, he has preferred charges against the Corporation, in that loose style which bespeaks a man resolved at any rate to injure the object of his envy and dislike; with the blind animosity of a political partisan,

rather than with the scrupulous attention to truth and candour, becoming one who claims to bear a reverend and sacred character.' In reference to this statement, I beg to inform your Excellency that the undertaking in which I had embarked on leaving the colony in August, 1830, and in which I had hazarded a voyage to England, and risked all the little property I possessed, was embarked in to supply the want of an Academical Institution in Sydney, to afford the youth of this colony a liberal, efficient, and economical education—a want which had long been universally acknowledged throughout the colony, but which the Church and School Corporation, notwithstanding its vast resources and superior facilities for the accomplishment of the object, had neglected to supply. Arriving in England with this object, I had scarce touched British ground when my ears were stunned with the loud and heart-rending cry of distress from an unemployed and starving population, maddened by their necessities to acts of violence and crime; and on arriving in London, and ascertaining that His Majesty's Ministers were employed in devising ways and means for conveying a portion of that population to the waste lands of the colonies, it immediately occurred to me that in the colony of New South Wales there were sources of revenue directly available for that purpose to a very large amount in the Crown allotments of Sydney, and the lands granted to the Church and School Corporation; and that the raising of a revenue from these sources for such a purpose would prove a blessing of incalculably greater value to the colony than was ever likely to result from the continuance of the Church and School Corporation. With these views was my letter to Lord Goderich written: and, in attestation of the fact, well as of my own sincerity in the matter in question, I have only to refer your Excellency to the circumstance of having since conducted, at very great personal inconvenience and expense, an expedition of one hundred and forty

emigrants to this colony, solely with a view to demonstrate the practicability of effecting an extensive emigration of the industrious classes from the mother-country to New South Wales without expense to either. And from the successful issue of that expedition, and the calculations into which it necessarily led me, I am confident that, if the plan I had the honour to submit to my Lord Goderich were carried into effect, not fewer than twenty thousand and upwards of the poor and unemployed, but virtuous, agricultural labourers of England might, in the course of a very few years, be conveyed with their wives and families to New South Wales, without expense either to the mother-country or to this colony. And when your Excellency considers of what materials the population of this colony has in great measure been formed for the last forty years, I can submit it to your Excellency with entire confidence, whether the introduction of such a population, to amalgamate with the present inhabitants of the colony, and to people and improve the extensive tracts of highly eligible land which the Church and School Corporation has hitherto suffered to lie waste in all parts of the territory, is not a consummation incomparably more desirable than the existence and continuance of that institution.

"In the passage above quoted, as well as in the whole course of their letter to the Acting Governor, the Commissioners have evidently fallen into the palpable error of identifying the character and efficiency of the Episcopal Church in this colony with the character and efficiency of the Corporation, and have therefore gratuitously accused me of cherishing a spirit of hostility towards the former, merely because I had recommended to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies the entire and immediate abolition of the latter. But while I broadly disclaim every feeling of hostility towards the Episcopal Church in this territory, and towards any of its ministers,

and maintain that there is no evidence of such a feeling in my letter to my Lord Goderich, I have no hesitation in repeating, what I asserted in that letter, that the Corporation has evinced itself inefficient in its character, expensive in its management, and prejudicial in its tendency both to the Episcopal Church and to the colony at large.⁴

"In regard to the insinuation that I 'felt it impossible to succeed in the accomplishment of my object without degrading the Established Church of the colony in his lordship's estimation,' I beg most explicitly to disavow every such feeling, every such intention. As I do not feel it requisite, however, to express my own sentiments in regard to the spirit which that insinuation itself evidently breathes, I beg leave to subscribe myself," &c. &c.

Whether the Archdeacon deemed his written vindication of the Church and School Corporation unsuccessful in point of argument, I do not know; at all events, he deemed it requisite to have me publicly subjected to a different species of infliction, under which I should be utterly unable to avail myself of the noble art of defence. Accordingly, as a member of the Nominee Legislative Council of the colony, to whose deliberations no strangers were then admitted, he proposed—*in the absence of the Governor and of certain other members, who, I have reason to believe, would not have sanctioned so anomalous a proceeding*—that a vote of censure should be passed upon me for the statements in my letter to Lord Goderich relative to the Church and School Corporation and the Episcopal clergy of the colony; and the vote was accordingly passed on the 15th of March, 1832, and

⁴ The Corporation was finally dissolved, by order of the King (William IV.) in Council, in the following year (1833). Whether my letter had had any influence in leading to that result, I do not know. I hope it had. The thing had at length become perfectly intolerable, and the Charter was accordingly revoked.

published to the following effect in all the newspapers of the colony :—

“ Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be requested to communicate to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State the opinion of this Council, that the charges against the Protestant Episcopal clergy of the colony, contained in the letter addressed by Dr. Lang to Viscount Goderich, were unfounded and unwarrantable; and that the publication of the same was a highly improper and censurable act.”

The opinion of the Legislative Council, and the vote of censure to which it led, were no dead letter to me. At the time when the vote was passed and published in all the newspapers of the colony, there were from fifty to a hundred reputable individuals, whom I had carried out from Scotland to the extremity of the earth, looking to me every Saturday evening for the wages of their labour, earned in the erection of buildings for the education of the long-neglected youth of the Australian colonies, while the weekly supply of funds for the carrying on of so extensive an undertaking depended entirely on my own personal credit and the favour of the public; both of which the vote of the Legislative Council tended, as it was doubtless intended it should, almost completely to destroy. A *friend* of my own in the colony had endorsed bills of my acceptance to the amount of 1000*l.* for the carrying on of the undertaking, till the funds of the Institution could be rendered available for the purpose. Immediately after the passing of the vote of censure, I received a pressing requisition from my *friend* for tangible security, as my name alone was no longer deemed sufficient. I accordingly gave him a security on my dwelling-house, but caused the house to be advertised for sale forthwith. It was sold accordingly in a few weeks after, and realized, together with some building-ground adjoining it, 2250*l.* I had thus the satisfaction of very soon seeing my *friend*

entirely out of danger. The house was situated on the summit of the ridge that separates the two beautiful coves or inlets of the harbour of Port Jackson, around which the city of Sydney is built. It commanded a view of the harbour as far as its noble entrance in front, and of the interesting lake-scenery in the upper part of it in the rear. I had laid my account to live and die in it; but he who is called in the good providence of God to struggle with principalities and powers, on behalf of his fellow-men in the colonies, must learn to do violence to his own feelings on occasions of emergency, and even to *take joyfully the spoiling of his goods.*

I had other property in Sydney, to the amount of upwards of 2000*l.*, which was also brought to the hammer for a similar purpose in the course of the same protracted struggle; for as the number of mechanics necessarily employed at the educational buildings rendered a large expenditure absolutely necessary on the one hand, it was found, on the other, that no part of the public funds allotted by Lord Goderich for the carrying on of the undertaking could be procured for a whole twelvemonth after its commencement. The funds I allude to were to be advanced by instalments, provided that an equal amount should have been previously expended by the promoters of the undertaking; security to be given to the Government on the buildings for the ultimate repayment of the advance at the expiration of five years.^{*} The buildings, however, were erected on ground belonging to the trustees of the Scots Church; and it was determined by the crown lawyers of the colony that the latter could not give a security till

* Lord Goderich never intended that the loan or advance should be repaid. He said so himself in my own hearing in Downing Street, when Earl Grey, then Lord Howick, was present, in December, 1830. The security was required merely to insure the due appropriation of the amount.

they were empowered to do so by an Act of Council. But an Act of Council was not easily procurable; and as it was necessary in the meantime to obtain funds from some quarter or other to carry on the work, the trustees of the Scots Church offered personal security for the due execution of the mortgage as soon as its execution should be practicable. The Legislative Council, however, being constituted judges in regard to the sufficiency of the security, would not be satisfied with anything *but the bond*. The bond was at length prepared by a private solicitor, and cost twelve guineas; but as His Majesty's Attorney-General, the late John —, Esq.,⁶ refused to examine it on behalf of the Legislative Council, of which he was a member, unless I sent him a fee, I sent him five pounds. I regretted that the sum was so small (although it was more than I could well afford at the time); for the honourable gentleman's salary as a crown lawyer was only 1200*l.* a year!

The Institution that was thus established maintained a vigorous and healthful existence in the city of Sydney for ten years thereafter, although it never received a sixpence from the State besides the loan or advance of 3500*l.* for buildings. During that period it had given a superior education for the time to upwards of five hundred of the youth of the colony. It was all along under the management of three graduates of three different Scottish universities whom I had brought out from Scotland for the purpose on two different occasions, and had classes, besides the usual branches of an English education, for classics, mathematics, and natural philosophy. It was examined in the year 1838 by Sir William Burton, then one of the judges of the colony, before leaving for Madras, where he was afterwards Chief Justice; and the result, which was highly favourable, is given in his Honour's published Report on the

⁶ Afterwards one of the puisne judges of the colony.

Institutions of the colony at that period. It had then upwards of a hundred pupils and students, not a few of them the sons of the first families in the colony. About thirty or forty were reading Latin and Greek, and some of them had written essays of fifty or sixty pages on subjects connected with their studies, some of which his Honour had read and commended. I mention the circumstance by way of self-defence, because of an impudent attack that was made upon me in reference to this very Institution in the Legislative Assembly of the colony, during this present year (1874), after I had sailed for England. For as Dr. Johnson says, "It is as much a mark of distinction for a man to have many enemies as many friends," I have had a pretty considerable number of these marks of both kinds, as the readers of this work will doubtless admit.

The supposed profits of squatting were so great at this time, even in the eyes of literary and professional men, that I found it impracticable to keep the Institution on any longer without assistance from the State. I therefore memorialized Sir George Gipps and the Legislative Council, setting forth the case as I best could, and praying for salaries of a hundred a year each for the three gentlemen who had charge of the Institution. This, however, the niggardly government of Sir George Gipps not only refused, but immediately instituted an action against myself for the repayment of the loan advanced by order of Lord Goderich in the year 1831. Sir George Grey, when Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1837, had told me in Downing Street, after I had given evidence for three days successively before the late Sir William Molesworth's Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation—in course of which he had seen what sort of service I individually been rendering to the colony—that the Government had certain claims on the ecclesiastical property which I was identified in Sydney (meaning particularly

loan advanced by Lord Goderich), which they would willingly cancel if requested to do so. But I deemed it so utterly inconceivable that the Local Government would ever act as they actually did in the matter, that I took no action in the case, and lost the opportunity. But I had to *fight with beasts at Ephesus* in those days, and this was merely a specimen of the sort of warfare I had to wage all along. The prosecution lasted for several years, and cost me a large amount for the defence. But I succeeded at length in defeating Sir George and his myrmidons even in their own courts of law.

The Institution subsisted after this, although on a reduced scale, till the year 1854, when, in consequence of certain educational measures of much greater promise enacted by the Legislature of the colony, it became extinct.

I have stated above that, in the year 1844, Sir George Gipps, at the instance of Bishop Broughton, and in the exercise of an arbitrary disposition, of which he exhibited the evidences on so many other occasions, thought proper to withhold his assent from the decision of the Legislative Council for the establishment of a National System of Education for the colony, on the basis of the Report of Mr. (now the Right Hon.) Robert Lowe. The result was that for twenty years thereafter, or until the year 1864, there were two Educational Boards for the management of education and the distribution of the funds allotted for its support—a National Board on the one hand, on the basis of Lord Stanley's or the Irish system; and a Denominational Board on no proper system on the other. The result, as might have been expected, was exceedingly unsatisfactory, and loud and frequent calls were made by the public for the establishment of a really National System under the direction of the Government and free from all clerical control.

Sir Charles Cowper, then Premier, now Agent-General for the colony in England, had in the meantime attempted to establish what was known for a time in the mother

country as the Privy Council System ; but the attempt proved an entire failure. At length, the present Premier, the Hon. Henry Parkes, then Colonial Secretary, submitted to Parliament a measure, to which I had the honour of giving my cordial support, for placing the education of the youth of the colony under the exclusive management of a Council of Education, to consist of five members to be appointed by Government, and to be responsible to the Parliament of the colony. And after long, protracted, and energetic debates, extending over weeks, the measure was carried at length by a large majority, and has ever since been in full and ever increasingly popular operation.

The Denominational System, however, had been too long in existence, and had too many interested supporters, to admit of its sudden and entire absorption under the National System, although, I am happy to add, the process has hitherto been going on increasingly ; most of the Presbyterian and Wesleyan, and not a few of the Church of England, schools having been voluntarily transformed into Public Schools under the Council of Education. It would doubtless have been highly desirable for Protestants generally to have had the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, read in our Public Schools, as in those of the British and Foreign System ; but in a community of which somewhat more than one-fourth are Roman Catholics, this could scarcely have been effected with justice ; national education in such circumstances being necessarily a matter of compromise. Scripture lessons, however, in which the great facts of sacred history, both of the Old Testament and of the New, are embodied, constitute a regular portion of the instruction given in the Public Schools of the colony ; and I maintain, therefore, without fear of contradiction, that to characterize the instruction given in these schools, as is done so freely by the Romish priesthood, as a Godless system, is an impudent and unfounded calumny.

It was not so deemed by Archbishop Murray of Dublin, who, I presume, was as good a Roman Catholic as Cardinal Cullen. It was not so deemed, in 1835, by Bishop Ullathorne of Birmingham, when Roman Catholic Vicar-General of New South Wales, who, I presume, was as good a Roman Catholic as any Romish priest now in that colony. But it seems the Old Claimant of Infallibility has only exaggerated and intensified his monstrous spiritual pretensions ever since he has been so happily denuded of his temporal power.

To show how fair and equitable towards the different denominations in the colony the system I have described is managed by the Government of New South Wales, I subjoin the following list and description of the Council of Education for the present year, viz. :—

Stephen Campbell Brown, Esq., Solicitor, M.L.A., an Episcopalian—I believe, of Presbyterian parentage.

William Augustine Duncan, Esq., Collector of Customs, a Roman Catholic.

The Hon. Thomas Holt, M.L.C., a Congregationalist.

John Smith, Esq., M.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry in the University of Sydney, a Presbyterian.

Sir Alfred Stephen, Knight, C.B., K.C.M.G., late Chief Justice, an Episcopalian.

“Professor Smith,” I add from the Report of the Council of Education for the year 1873, “was unanimously re-elected President for the year 1874, at a meeting of the Council held on the 5th of January.” Dr. Smith’s predecessor in that office had been the Hon. George Allen, a Wesleyan Methodist.

In further illustration of the working of the Council of Education, I add the following notice from the Report:—

“At the commencement of the year the Council consisted of the undermentioned members:—George Wigram Allen, Esq., M.L.A., a Wesleyan Methodist; William Augustine Duncan, Esq.; the Hon. Thomas Holt, M.L.C.; the Hon. Henry Parkes, M.L.A., an Episco-

palian ; John Smith, Esq., M.D., President. Mr. Parkes and Mr. Allen having resigned their offices, were succeeded by Sir Alfred Stephen, Knt., C.B., and Stephen Campbell Brown, Esq., M.L.A., on the 29th of November and 12th of December, who hold office respectively for the unexpired portion of the statutory four years' period for which their predecessors were appointed."

From the General Statistics of the Council I extract the following notices:—

"1. SCHOOLS IN 1873.—Public, 400; Provisional, 216; Half-time, 117; Denominational, 209. Total : 942.

"2. PUPILS IN 1873.—Public, 48,831; Provisional, 7466; Half-time, 2209; Denominational, 33,512. Total : 92,018.

"3. FEES IN 1873.—Public, 28,579*l.* 15*s.* 11*½d.*; Provisional, 3430*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.*; Half-time, 529*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*; Denominational, 16,406*l.* 18*s.* Total : 48,947*l.* 5*s.* 11*½d.* The actual number of entirely new schools brought into operation in 1873 was eighty-seven."

"The aggregate number of pupils enrolled in 1873 was 92,018, being an increase of 3531 upon the number attending in the previous year. Of the number thus added, 2373 went to the Public Schools, 793 to Provisional, and 417 to Half-time Schools. A slight decrease is observable in the attendance at Denominational Schools. While it is satisfactory to record the gradual yearly increase in the number of children brought under instruction, there is some ground for regret on account of the large number who appear to attend no school whatever. From inquiries instituted through the Council Inspectors in 1873, it appears that, exclusive of the great pastoral districts of the interior, upwards of 25,000 children attend no school; and, as far as could be ascertained, receive no systematic instruction. Of these about 3000 reside in localities in which no schools at present exist; 5000 will be provided for by schools in course of establishment; and the remaining 17,000 do not avail themselves of facilities for education placed within their reach."

"The amount paid as school fees in 1873 was 48,947*l.* 5*s.* 11*½d.* Although this exceeds the sum paid in the previous year by 2953*l.* 3*s.* 4*½d.*, there is still ground for complaint on the score of non-payment of fees due. It is calculated that not less than 6000*l.* per annum is lost by the neglect or refusal of parents to pay. This sum, if paid, would go to increase the remuneration of teachers who are thus unjustly deprived of a portion of their incomes to which they are legally and on every other ground entitled."

"The number of free scholars during the past year was 6573, being a decrease of 638 upon the number returned in 1872. It is believed that the effect of the inquiry instituted by the Council will be still further to reduce the proportion of free scholars, and to restrict the privilege of free education to those, and those only, who are unable to pay—the class for whose special benefit it was conferred by the statute. Some glaring instances have come under the notice of the Council, where parents in good circumstances have evaded the payment of fees, to the serious loss of the teachers, who ought rather to be stimulated by additional remuneration."

It will thus be observed that the education afforded in the Public Schools of the colony is neither free nor compulsory.

I confess I was strongly in favour of fees being required from the pupils, on the principle that that which costs nothing is seldom valued; although there is a party in the colony strongly in favour of the abolition of all fees for education in the Public Schools, a measure which has actually been enacted as the law of the land in Queensland. But as to compulsory education, the thing is out of the question in New South Wales, except in the larger towns. In these it will be quite as practicable as in the mother country, but throughout the territory generally it will be quite impracticable. In such cases the object can only be accomplished by moral suasion and proper arrangements otherwise.

Under the head of Teachers the Council observe as follows :—

"The question as to the supply of competent teachers for schools of all classes has occupied much attention during the past year. Although fewer applicants for the office of pupil teacher presented themselves for examination in 1873 than in the previous year, the number of those who succeeded was about the same. The numbers were,—

	1873.	1872.
Applicants examined	179	216
Applicants successful	94	97
Applicants unsuccessful	85	119

"These figures seem to show that candidates were better prepared for examination in 1873. Of the successful candidates, seventy-two were appointed to situations."

"The Training School was open for two sessions of six months each during 1873. The extended course of instruction introduced in the previous year was continued in this, and seems to have produced very satisfactory results, as far as can be judged from so short a period of trial. The number of applicants for admission was seventy-five, of whom fifty-eight were successful in passing the preliminary examination. That the number of failures should be so small as seventeen may be explained on the supposition that the requirements of the Training School are now better understood, and that the applicants came up better prepared for the test."

"On the whole, the operations of the Training School during 1873 may be pronounced decidedly successful; and the value of the Institution, as a means of raising a supply of qualified teachers, becomes yearly more evident."

"At the close of 1873 there were in the service of the Council 950 principal teachers, 167 assistants, and 272 pupil teachers—in all 1389. Their aggregate emoluments for the year were—

From salaries	£82,414 17 2
From school fees	48,947 5 11½

Total £131,362 3 1½."

"The average salary paid to Public and Certified Denominational school teachers amounts to 84*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* for 1873, and the average income from fees to 53*l.* 8*s.* 6½*d.*, making a total of 137*l.* 14*s.* 8½*d.* In a large number of instances a residence is also provided. The highest salary paid to any teacher during the year was 200*l.*, and the maximum amount of school fees received by one teacher was 434*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, and the smallest 15*s.*

"The following table contains additional information as to the remuneration of teachers:—

Average Income of Teachers in 1873.

Schools.	From Salary.	From Fees.	Total.
Public . . .	£65 8 10½	£41 14 5½	£107 3 4
Provisional . . .	38 5 0	15 17 8	54 2 8
Half-time . . .	53 12 8	8 19 7	63 12 3
Church of England . . .	59 11 9	41 2 11½	100 14 8½
Roman Catholic. . .	62 7 3½	33 6 4	95 13 7½
Presbyterian . . .	66 16 11½	45 14 7½	112 11 7
Wesleyan . . .	63 0 7	45 1 0	108 1 7½

Under the head of Local Supervision, the Council observe as follows:—

“In the Albury district the Inspector reports that ‘for no period during the past four years were the duties prescribed for Local Committees and School Boards so faithfully performed or productive of such beneficial results.’”

Under the head of Finance the Council states as follows:—

“The following sums were at the Council’s disposal, for the purposes of public instruction, during 1873, viz. :—

Balance from 1872	£5,151	13	10
Parliamentary Vote for 1873	120,000	0	0
Church and Schools Estate revenue	1,285	3	5
Refund of payments on account of buildings,			
Grafton Public School	2,000	0	0
Local contributions in cash	4,058	9	5
Total	£132,495	6	8

“A further sum of 48,947*l.* 5*s.* 11*½d.*, derived from school fees, must be added, in order to ascertain the whole amount recorded as available for the establishment and maintenance of schools. The total sum expended upon schools under the Council’s supervision, as far as known, was 181,422*l.* 12*s.* 7*½d.*”

Under the head of Denominational Schools the Council observe as follows:—

“There were in operation during 1873, 209 certified Denominational schools, viz. :—Church of England, 96; Roman Catholic, 87; Presbyterian, 15; Wesleyan, 10; Hebrew, 1. Total : 209.”

“From the proportion of the Church and Schools Estates Revenue placed at our disposal, the following sums, being one moiety of the whole amount, were granted:—

To Church of England schools	£326	5	2
To Roman Catholic schools	194	15	8
To Presbyterian schools	69	18	3
To Wesleyan schools	51	12	7
	£642	11	8

“J. SMITH, President.

“S. C. BROWN.

“W. A. DUNCAN.

“THOMAS HOLT.

“ALFRED STEPHEN.”

I have stated above that the academical institution which I had been instrumental in establishing in the year 1831, and which had maintained a vigorous existence for ten years thereafter, fell into abeyance in 1841.

So precarious, indeed, is the condition of educational institutions in remote colonies, which are necessarily entirely dependent for men to conduct them on uncertain supplies from the mother country, that other two educational institutions in the colony, of a somewhat similar character, have at different times experienced similar calamities. The King's School, at Parramatta, founded by Bishop Broughton, was at one period of its history at the very lowest ebb, although it has since revived, and is now prospering ; and the Sydney College, formerly the Sydney Free Grammar School, had become extinct nearly thirty years since. It is surely a great mistake to suppose with Lord Glenelg, in his answer to Sir Richard Bourke's despatch on Churches and Schools,⁷ that schools and colleges for superior education require no support from the State in the colonies. On the contrary, support from the public treasury is still more needful for colonial educational institutions of a superior character than it is for such institutions at home ; from the earlier age at which pupils are removed from schools in the colonies, and the greater demand there is than at home for imperfectly educated young men. If the industrious classes in the colonies are to be permitted to give their sons a liberal education, the cost of education in superior schools and academies must be reduced to a rate which they can

⁷ The King's School at Parramatta, however, appears to me very differently circumstanced : the pupils of this institution belong chiefly, if not exclusively, to that class of society which has no just claim to gratuitous aid, at the public expense, towards the education of youth ; and I think that, if the school is to be maintained, it should be at the charge of the parents or connexions of the scholars.—*Lord Glenelg's Reply to Sir Richard Bourke.*

easily afford to pay; and this can only be done by allowing the masters or professors moderate salaries from the public treasury.

Although there is no Church Establishment in the United States, the Americans wisely recognize the propriety and necessity of making a regular State provision for academies and colleges, as well as for general education in common schools. Upwards of forty years ago, the Legislature of Pennsylvania established a fixed rate of allowance from the public treasury of the State for all institutions of this character, having a certain fixed establishment of masters or professors, and a certain number of students, and comprising a certain curriculum of academical study; and the impulse which had already been given to the cause of academical education throughout that extensive State, at the period of my visit to the United States, in the year 1840, shortly after the system had come into operation, was equally gratifying and unprecedented; institutions, which had long been struggling with difficulties, being placed at once in a state of comfort and efficiency, while the strongest stimulus was held forth to their friends and supporters to bring them up to the Government mark. The Pennsylvanian Legislature makes no inquiry as to what religious or other body the academical institution preferring its claim for support from the public treasury belongs: it only ascertains that its establishment of masters or professors, the number of its students, and the nature and extent of its curriculum are according to law; for, if they are, the institution is thenceforth entitled to a certain yearly allowance from the State.

In the year 1850, when a Bill for the establishment of a University in New South Wales, professedly on the plan of the University of London, was under the consideration of the Legislative Council, at the instance of the late Mr. Wentworth, I earnestly recommended to the Council the

adoption of this excellent American precedent and example; suggesting that a grant of 700*l.* a year should be guaranteed for three years certain to any college having an establishment of four professors, of suitable qualifications, and affording a certain fixed curriculum of education; and that, at the end of this probationary period, the grant should be reduced to 500*l.* a year, if the number of students should be under fifty, or augmented to 1000*l.* (which should be the maximum), if it exceeded one hundred. But this suggestion, the adoption of which would have given an immediate and wonderful stimulus to the cause of academical education throughout the colony, was not adopted; a singular want of common sense, combined with an extravagant expenditure of public money, under a system of centralization altogether unsuited to the circumstances and the wants of the colony, having hitherto been the uniform characteristics of the Colonial Government in all its acts and movements in the matter of higher education.

Under the plan I suggested there would long ere now have been a college in vigorous and salutary operation in every large town in the colony, affording a certain curriculum of instruction prescribed by the State, under the supervision of the University. And whether these colleges might respectively be denominational or otherwise, what right would the State in New South Wales have had to inquire any more than the State had in Pennsylvania?

* The following is the opinion of the Bishops of the Church of England, who were assembled in Sydney for ecclesiastical purposes in the year 1851, on the subject of the University, as extracted from the Minutes of their Proceedings on the occasion. It is quite in accordance with the plan I recommended, and with the practice of the London University:—

“UNIVERSITY.

“We are of opinion that the establishment of the University of Sydney may promote the growth of sound learning, and may in many

The Bill for the establishment of the University of Sydney was passed during the Session of 1850; and the University, with a revenue of 5000*l.* a year from the public treasury, came into existence on the 1st of January, 1851 ; a Senate or Board of Management having been appointed during that year, and a Commission forwarded to certain parties in England to send out three professors—one for mathematics, one for classics, and one for the physical sciences.

These gentlemen accordingly arrived in due time, and commenced operations in their respective departments in the colony; and as the institution with which they have been identified has now been in existence for nearly a quarter of a century, it may not be improper, in the language of the Right Honourable Mr. Lowe, to ask for the *results*.

At a meeting of a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly on the University, of which I had the honour to be a member ten years since, it was given in evidence that there had then been expended on the University buildings upwards of 180,000*l.*; and yet there were no residences provided for the professors, who were left to find lodgings for themselves in the city a mile and a half away. One of the ablest of the witnesses examined by the Committee, the late William McLeay, Esq., an accomplished scholar and an eminent naturalist, maintained that the buildings were a

ways assist the collegiate institutions of the Church of England in our respective dioceses.

"But while we are not unwilling that the students in our diocesan colleges and schools should compete with all other classes of students in such public University examinations on general literature and science as may be established by a Senate, appointed under ordinance of the Colonial Legislature, we should decidedly object to any University system which might have the effect of withdrawing from our own collegiate rule the students educated in our separate diocesan institutions."

great mistake, and quite unnecessary, referring to what he had seen in Berlin and elsewhere on the Continent; and the late Dr. Woolley, then Principal of the University, who afterwards unfortunately perished in the steam-ship "London," when she foundered in the Bay of Biscay on her way to the colony, expressed to me very feelingly his great regret that the Senate had not retained and made use of the Sydney College building, which they had become possessed of, and which he felt assured would have been quite sufficient for all purposes, for many years to come, adding that, from its much more central situation, he could have had some means of bringing the University influence to bear on the citizens generally, by popular evening lectures, which, in the case of the actual University, so far out of town, was quite out of the question.*

From the Statistical Register for 1872, it appears that the Professors and Readers, or the teaching body of the University, are five altogether, and the number of students thirty-nine, while the income of the University from fees, including the Government endowment of 5000*l.*, is 7265*l.* At an educational meeting of some kind, held in Sydney some time since, Professor Smith, the present President of the Council of Education, expressed his great astonishment and regret that, notwithstanding all the expenditure incurred, the number of students at the University should still be so small. I ventured to suggest at the time,

* When I was a student at the University of Glasgow, sixty years ago, the professor of natural philosophy had a popular course of lectures for his students, illustrated with experiments, every Tuesday and Thursday evening during the whole session. These lectures were open to young men of the city—merchants' and lawyers' clerks, &c.—who were not students at the University at all. They were always well attended, and exercised a most beneficial influence on the public generally; but to think of the young men of Sydney going out to the University on a dark night to attend a course of lectures would be out of the question.

that one reason at least, if not the only one, was the high rate of the fees charged for education in the University; these fees being actually as high as those of the aristocratic Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, according to the recent report in the *Times*. I am strongly confirmed in this idea from a visit I paid to the University of Toronto, in Canada, in the month of June last, on my way to England from San Francisco across the continent of America; for I there learned from the Rev. President of the Senate of the University, Dr. McCaul, that the fees in Toronto were merely nominal, but that the number of students was 300.

It was given out, when the Sydney University was founded, that it should be established on the model of the University of London; but it has no resemblance to that University, with the exception of the exclusion of religion from the course of study, and the idea is therefore a complete delusion. The University of London is a mere examining body for conferring degrees on the students of any college or institution affiliated to that University, who have passed its ordeal satisfactorily. It is the policy of the day, in regard to academical institutions generally, to separate the examining from the teaching body entirely. This was done in the first instance in the case of the University of London; that which was originally called the University of London being now merely London University College. The same thing, it appears, has been done in Toronto; the University of Toronto, as it used to be designated, being now also merely University College. And there is no doubt that the same thing will be done in Sydney by-and-by.

I have much pleasure in stating, however, that a Board of Examiners has recently been formed in the Sydney University for all the schools in the colony, and that no person can now be admitted to any appointment under Government without having passed at one of the periodical Examinations. Nothing has ever given so great and so salutary a stimulus to education throughout the colony as this.

The Sydney Grammar School is a flourishing institution, having a teaching staff of eleven masters, and 259 pupils. The Government have expended 30,000*l.* for the buildings of this institution, and they allow it 1500*l.* a year from the public treasury. And as its income from fees is 3475*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, its total income is 4975*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* This is one of those cases of centralization, to which I have alluded above, and under which the best interests of the colony are compromised and sacrificed. I do not say that the Sydney Grammar School gets too much; but if it does not, why do the other chief towns of the colony get nothing?

Had the American System been adopted from the first, as I strongly recommended at the time, how different would have been the result from the miserable failure which the Affiliated Colleges have hitherto exhibited, as shown in the following figures from the Statistical Register of the Colony.

	Number of Teachers.	Number of Students.
St. Paul's College, for members of the Church of England	1	5
St. John's College, for Roman Catholics	1	5

Each of these Institutions has a salary of 500*l.* a year from the State. They have each also a handsome residence for the Head Master or Professor, and the mere building in each case has been erected at a cost of nearly 20,000*l.*

I was not in Parliament when the Affiliated Colleges' Bill was introduced, having just then returned from a visit to England. But having been re-elected immediately thereafter, I merely succeeded in getting the boon which the Bill professed to bestow, as far as the Presbyterian community was concerned, extended to all Presbyterians, instead of its being confined to those drawing salaries from the State. But as the question of the procedure taken in the case is rather a matter of religion than of education, I shall defer my intended remarks on the subject for next chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

ESTIMATE OF THE STATE OF MORALS AND RELIGION IN
NEW SOUTH WALES, WITH A VIEW OF THE EXISTING
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN THE COLONY.

"Ich bin ganz Ihrer Meinung. Die Kirche soll keine Schlavin, sondern eine freie Dienerin des Herrn, seyn."—*Letter to the Author from the late Rev. Johannes Gossner, Berlin.*

"I am entirely of your opinion. The Church must be no slave, but a free servant of the Lord."

THE state of morals in New South Wales was sufficiently low, previous to the era of free emigration in the year 1821. It is almost unnecessary to speak of the state of religion in such a condition of society as was then prevalent in the colony. There were "a few names," however, "even in Sardis," who had uniformly maintained a higher character; but they were

Rari nantes in gurgite vasto;

"a few individuals struggling above water in the midst of a vast whirlpool of iniquity and pollution."

For many years after the settlement of the colony, the only ministers of religion who were permanently stationed in the territory were colonial chaplains of the Church of England. One would have thought that in a penal colony, ruled by the lash and awed by the bayonet, it would have been the policy of the Government and the dictate of common sense to have kept this spiritual machinery, scanty and inefficient as it was in its

best estate, unsuspected in its character and unencumbered in its movements : but it seems as if some spirit of darkness had obtained the patent of Colonial Adviser-General on the first settlement of the colony, and had, in order to prevent, if possible, the reformation of its depraved inhabitants, cast poison into every spring ; for, in order completely to neutralize the moral and religious influence of the colonial chaplain, he was generally made a magistrate of the territory or a justice of the peace. Whatever may be said in vindication of such a combination of offices generally, it will surely be admitted that there was nothing to be said in justification of it in a state of society in which the most frequent duty of a magistrate was to sentence the *prisoner at the bar* to twenty-five or fifty lashes ! Was this befitting employment for a minister of the Gospel of peace ? Was it likely to recommend either his message or his Master, or to conciliate kindly affection towards himself ? In other countries the clergy have often been accused of taking the *fleece* ; but New South Wales is the only country I have ever heard of, in which they were openly authorized, under a Royal Commission, to take the *hide* also, or to flay the flock alive. Under so preposterous and so enormous a system, well might the miserable wretch, whose back was still smarting under the Saturday's infliction, join in the oft-repeated prayer of the Litany on the Sunday morning, "Lord, have mercy upon us !" and well might he add, from the bottom of his heart, "for his Reverence has none !" The practice of appointing clerical magistrates, however, was discontinued during the government of His Excellency, in consequence of certain representations which had found their way into the House of Commons. From the era of free emigration, in 1815, to the year 1835, there was no instance of a clergyman being appointed a magistrate in New South Wales.

1821, the colony began to assume a more favourable aspect than it had ever presented previous to that period. Concubinage was gradually discountenanced in the higher circles of the colony—in so far at least as regarded the open and shameless avowal of it, which had previously been comparatively frequent—and of course gradually disappeared from the face of society; for, although still practised by a few *old offenders*, the daily increasing array of well-ordered families, both among the free emigrant and the more reputable portion of the emancipist population, at length forced that particular form of colonial immorality into the shade.

It was scarcely, however, from the higher classes of colonial society—whether Government officers, lawyers, landholders of the higher class, or merchants—that a healing influence could be expected to emanate in that comparatively early period of the history of the colony, to cleanse and to purify the land. The men who are "*clothed in purple and fine linen, and who fare sumptuously every day,*" may be powerful to do good from their wealth and their station in society; but that good is but rarely done, and the influence they exert on society is of consequence far more frequently evil. Even their profession of Christianity—a sort of fashionable accompaniment of gentility in the present age—is perhaps more hurtful than beneficial to the cause of pure and undefiled religion; for the vessels of the House of God are for the most part polluted by their desecrating touch, and the day of God profaned by their unholy example. The disclosures to which I have already referred, during the period of general insolvency, under the government of the late Sir George Gipps, revealed an amount of unprincipled villany, even in the gentlest circles of the colony, that was perfectly frightful.

The moralist will ask, therefore, how it fared in such circumstances with the humbler classes of the colonial

community ; and, in reply to such a question, it must be acknowledged that, in directing the eye to those who occupied the lower steps of the colonial ladder, during the first ten years from the period of my first arrival in the colony, in the month of May, 1823, the prospect was sufficiently discouraging. Most of the free emigrants who arrived in New South Wales during the administrations of Sir Thomas Brisbane and Sir Ralph Darling settled in the interior as proprietors of land and stock, and diffused, in many instances at least, a salutary influence over the country ; but the towns, and especially Sydney, continued much the same, both in population and morals, as before. The first object of the ambition of a newly-emancipated convict, at that period, was to be employed as a constable—a situation which insured him sufficient pay for his maintenance, and enabled him to lead a life of comparative inaction. The next object of his ambition was to obtain a licence to keep a public-house, which was easily obtainable for 25*l.* per annum, provided his house and character were sufficient to satisfy the visiting magistrates—and they were generally very easily satisfied, especially as they were not unfrequently wholesale importers of wines and spirits. The number of these nuisances consequently increased prodigiously in the colony, and the consumption of ardent spirits increased proportionably ; insomuch that in the year 1836, when the population of Sydney amounted to 20,000 souls, the number of public-houses in the city was upwards of two hundred ; the licences alone producing an annual revenue to the Government of more than 5000*l.*, exclusive of the direct duties on spirits, which then amounted, for the whole colony, to 117,000*l.* per annum.

Whether the number of public-houses ought to be limited by authority is a question which has often been asked in New South Wales, but which I confess it is somewhat difficult to answer. I am inclined to believe, however, that

the influence, to be employed successfully, in counteracting so enormous an evil, must be of a totally different kind, and that the curse of purifying salt, which alone can be expected to heal the bitter waters, must be cast in at the fountain-head, or at least much higher up the stream. It was on this principle, at least, that I endeavoured to act in the matter myself.

I had ascertained very early in my colonial life, that a large proportion of the money expended in the numerous public-houses of Sydney was expended by mechanics—chiefly of the class of emancipated convicts—whose wages were then sufficiently high to enable them to spend several days every week in low dissipation, to the great annoyance and the serious loss of their employers. It appeared to me, therefore, that the only effectual remedy for so great an evil would be to introduce into the colony a number of reputable and industrious free emigrant mechanics from the mother country, who, by working at their several handicrafts six days every week, and expending their earnings in a proper manner, would in due time render the means of dissipation less easily attainable by the emancipated convict-mechanics, and withdraw the means of support, to a certain degree at least, from the colonial publicans. Attempts had doubtless been repeatedly made by individual colonists to carry out mechanics to New South Wales, under engagements to serve for a sufficient length of time in the colony to repay the expense of their passage out; but these attempts had always been unsuccessful, the mechanics uniformly breaking through their engagements as soon as possible.¹ It appeared to me, however, that if mechanics

¹ The testimony of John Macarthur, Esq., on this subject is very explicit: "There is no instance on record," says that gentleman, "where settlers have been able to prevent their indentured servants, hired in England, from becoming dissatisfied, and then leaving them after their arrival."

only of proper character were selected, they would faithfully fulfil their engagement, provided that engagement were an equitable one; for it often happened, in the instances I refer to, that a breach of engagement on the part of the servant or mechanic had been occasioned by a previous attempt to over-reach him on the part of the master or employer—the mechanic being generally hired in the mother country to labour for a term of years in the colony at English instead of colonial wages.

It was in these circumstances that I was induced to propose the arrangement which I succeeded in making with Lord Goderich, in the year 1831, and to which I have already referred in the first volume of this work, for carrying out a number of reputable mechanics, with their wives and children, for the erection of the requisite buildings for an academical institution, or college, for the education of youth in the town of Sydney.

I accompanied these mechanics myself, in a vessel chartered for the purpose, which arrived in the colony in October, 1831; and in seven days thereafter the buildings in question were commenced, the average rate of wages for good mechanics being then 2*l.* sterling a week. In six or eight months, all the unmarried men had paid the whole of their passage-money by weekly instalments from their wages; and when the buildings were at length necessarily discontinued for a time, the greater number of the married mechanics had paid about two-thirds of theirs. In short, the experiment proved completely successful.

The Scotch mechanics, as they were called in the colony, were men of superior ability in their respective handicrafts; for I had required them, previous to their being engaged, to produce certificates of their mechanical skill, as well as of their moral character, and their connexion with some Christian congregation. In addition, therefore, to the other consequences of their importation, they greatly im-

proved the style of architecture throughout the colony; and, by becoming contractors for public buildings, they enabled the Government to erect superior buildings at a much cheaper rate than had previously been current in the colony.

But it was the moral influence of their example, as sober and industrious men, that was of greatest importance to the community. A few months after their arrival, no fewer than sixteen of them joined together in the purchase of an allotment of ground in the town of Sydney, which was afterwards surrendered to eight of the number. Seven of them subsequently entered into partnership, as contractors for the erection of the stonework of various public and private buildings both in Sydney and in the interior. Several others had purchased allotments on their own private account, after paying for their passage out, and erected good houses of stone for their own residence; and individuals of their number had sent home money to their poorer relatives in Scotland. Nay, before fifteen months had elapsed from the period of their arrival, several other families and individuals of a similar class in society had arrived in the colony from various parts of Scotland; having emigrated to New South Wales solely in consequence of the favourable intelligence they had received from their relatives there of the state of the country, and of the prospect which it held forth to persons of a similar station in life.

The emigration of reputable and industrious persons of various other classes of society, from the United Kingdom to New South Wales, kept pace with that of mechanics, during the whole period of the administration of Sir Richard Bourke; and their influence on the colony was salutary in the highest degree. In short, from the period of the arrival of the Scotch mechanics in the year 1831, a visible and striking change for the better was gradually effected; not

only in that important and influential portion of the population of the colonial capital to which they belonged, but throughout the colony generally. For example, the entire population of New South Wales amounted in the year 1833 to 60,861. It amounted on the 1st of March, 1851, to 189,951, having more than tripled itself, from immigration chiefly, during the intervening period of eighteen years; but the duties on spirits for 1851 amounted only to 107,013*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*, that is, less by 10,000*l.* than the amount collected for a third of the population eighteen years before.

In forming an estimate of the state of morals in the Australian colonies, it must not be forgotten that, although very many of the free emigrants who have hitherto settled in these colonies have been men of reputable character and respectable standing in the world, others have been driven to emigrate, as a sort of *dernière ressource*, after every expedient for gaining a livelihood in the mother country had completely failed; and it sometimes unfortunately happens that such persons are just as bankrupt in character as in purse. In the heavy sea of adversity they have had to encounter, in their unsuccessful attempt to reach the port of Fortune, they have not only had to cast their lading overboard, but have also had the bulwarks of their virtue swept away.

The very length of the voyage from England at the period to which I am referring, when the passage out was generally much longer than it is now, exerted a demoralizing influence on the free emigrant population of the Australian colonies: inasmuch as it not unfrequently induced habits of indolence, which were afterwards not easily surmounted; while the more frequent and sometimes unlimited use of wine and ardent spirits on ship-board at the period to which I refer—for the practice is very different now—insensibly produced a taste for that species of dissipation. I have

known young men of the fairest promise at their outset in the world, who had acquired habits of this kind on their passage out to the colony, and whose subsequent lives were a mere alternation of listless inaction and low dissipation. To persons who are indisposed to literary avocations, life is often a complete blank at sea; and it is sometimes so much worse, that I have often thought it would subserve the interests of morality in New South Wales, if the Faculty could administer to many hopeful adventurers, on their embarking for that colony, some opiate which would lay them sound asleep till they got within the Heads of Port Jackson; for, in opposition to the poet's maxim,

Non mutant animos qui trans mare currunt;

“Men do not change their dispositions by merely crossing the sea,”—I can testify, from my own observation, that many persons, and especially young men, really become worse members of society than they were before, in the course of a long voyage.

Nay, I am confident that the ruin of many a young man in the colonies, of the class of adventurers in general, may be dated from the hour when he first planted his foot on a ship's deck. A young man of this class—I refer particularly to my own fellow-countrymen—arriving in the colony, naturally attends Divine Service in Sydney for a few Sabbaths after his arrival; and when he hears the Psalms of David sung to the ancient melodies of his father-land, by a congregation of his countrymen at the extremity of the globe, the hallowed scenes of his boyhood recur to his recollection with overpowering influence, and he almost exclaims, with the patriot king of Israel, “*If I forget thee, Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.*” By-and-by, however, he is invited to spend a Sunday with Mr. Woolpack, the merchant, who

prefers a drive to Parramatta or a water-excursion in the harbour to all the prayers and sermons in the colony, and who, perhaps, generously furnishes the young man with a list of cogent reasons why he—Mr. Woolpack, to wit—does not attend divine service, and why his young friend should discontinue his attendance also. Indeed, brandy and water and Manilla cigars over-night are a bad preparation for the hallowed exercises of the sanctuary of God; and the visits of the hopeful youth, who has had a seasoning, perhaps, on ship-board, and who is now almost completely acclimatized, are consequently few and far between. The progress to practical infidelity on the one hand, and to downright dissipation on the other, is short and rapid; but in all probability it is neither so short nor so rapid, but that the young man's relatives in the mother country may have heard betimes of the state of matters in regard to “the hope of their family” beyond seas, and may write him by every opportunity, in the bitterness of their heart, to endeavour if possible to save him from utter ruin. The letters are read as a matter of course, and perhaps their contents awaken a sudden pang of remorse in the first instance; but the emotion is merely momentary, and it probably gives way to a feeling of anger at the *ungenerous and unjust suspicions* that are entertained respecting him; and this feeling in all likelihood issues in a fixed determination to write no reply. The letters that are thenceforward received from the same quarter by every opportunity are perhaps coolly deposited by the tender-hearted youth, with their seals unbroken, in the bottom of his trunk,² because, forsooth, *they are all about the old story*; and the circumstance is perhaps brought to light by an utter stranger to his family after his death; which in some cases of the kind is alarmingly sudden and unexpected, in others slow but sure. I have followed the remains of such indi-

² This is not fiction or embellishment, but actual fact.

viduals to the grave ; and as I read their age, or, to speak more properly, their youth, on the black tin-plate on their coffin-lid, while the corpse was lowered slowly into its narrow house, I have fancied I saw the aged mother sitting at the door of her cottage in some solitary Scottish glen, and weeping bitterly as she reminded her still more sorrowful but all-silent husband, how many months had elapsed since they had last heard from their son ; and I have thought how the tidings of the scene I had just witnessed, when they reached the distant Scottish glen, would break the heart of that mother, and bring down the grey hairs of the father with sorrow to the grave !

As a general rule, it were greatly to be desired that emigration to the Australian colonies generally should take place by whole families rather than by young persons of either sex. The moral restraints of their native land would then be much more easily maintained, in the case of such young persons, in the land of their adoption. Parents generally ought to take this matter into their serious consideration when their sons or daughters talk of emigrating. The future welfare of their offspring, both for time and for eternity, may depend on their accompanying them to Canada or Australia.

The general prevalence of a spirit of grasping avarice among the buying and selling portion of the community had also a most unfavourable influence on the morals of the colony for a series of years after my own arrival in the country. The idea of asking a fair price for an article was then seldom thought of: the grand question was, how much could be got for it by any means ; and, I am sorry to add, it was not always considered, even in quarters where one should have expected better things, whether the means were fair or otherwise. As immigration from the mother country increased, however, the mercantile transactions of the colony, both in the wholesale and retail departments, came to be con-

ducted, with not a few exceptions, of course, on a much better system. The profits on particular speculations gradually became more and more reasonable, in proportion as the field of mercantile enterprise widened, and competition increased; while the numerous reputable free emigrants, who from time to time arrived in the colony, and established themselves as dealers in general, or as manufacturers of articles for sale in various branches of business, made sad inroads on the province of the old colonial extortioner, by asking only a reasonable profit on their articles of merchandise, or a reasonable price for their labour. In short, the mercantile pulse of the colony did not then beat quite so high as it had done at the period referred to, but it indicated a much higher state of moral health in the body politic of the country.

In regard to the gold-mining community of New South Wales, and its bearing and influence on the moral and religious welfare of the colony, of which there were at one time the most dismal apprehensions entertained, I made it my business, before undertaking my present visit to England and the publication of this work, to visit a whole series of the gold-fields, both active and extinct, of the colony; and in all of these, without exception, I found an orderly, reputable, and church-going people, with their places of worship and their Sunday-schools for the children. I have already stated what I found at the extinct gold-fields, but now promising towns of Young and Forbes. There was precisely the same at the still active mines of Grenfell, Gul-gong, Hill End, and Tambaroora. At Hill End in particular, I found a Presbyterian church, in which I officiated twice to numerous congregations during my stay. It was built of brick, remarkably appropriate in every respect, and had cost 1300*l.*, to which a successful gold-miner, and a Christian man, had contributed very liberally, while the other denominations of the place had their places of worship, also of a creditable

appearance. In short, gold and tin mining having now become regular colonial industries, many of the miners have their wives and children with them at the gold-fields, living in cottages of their own on allotments they have purchased at the Government land sales.

In one word, the colony has undergone a wonderful change for the better during the last thirty or forty years. All traces of its origin as a penal settlement have long since disappeared; and I have no hesitation in stating my belief and conviction that, not only in externals, but in reality, it would stand a comparison with most parts of the United Kingdom.

I have already observed that, for many years after the settlement of the colony, the only ministers of religion who were permanently stationed in the territory were colonial chaplains of the Church of England.

There had been no minister of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales previous to my arrival in the colony in the month of May, 1823. My own determination to proceed thither in that capacity had been regarded by the Church to which I belonged with all that cold-blooded and unnatural indifference which, I am sorry to acknowledge, the Church of Scotland evinced at that period, and for many years thereafter, to the moral and religious welfare of her people in the colonies. Even my own personal friends among the Scottish clergy regarded the step I was about to take as a hair-brained and desperate adventure; and as none of the many religious societies of Scotland were likely to patronize any such undertaking, I was left to bear my own charges, and to find my way as I best could—a solitary, friendless wanderer—over the dark blue sea.

On my arrival in the colony, a congregation of Scots Presbyterians was speedily formed; and shortly thereafter it was proposed to erect a Scots Church in Sydney, upwards of 700*l.*, as a commencement, being subscribed for the

purpose in a few days. Contrary to my advice, the laymen who had been appointed a Committee of Management to conduct the affair determined to memorialize the Government for assistance from the Colonial Treasury previous to their commencing operations ; as such assistance had been previously extended to the Roman Catholics of the colony. A respectful memorial was accordingly presented to the Governor, stating the progress which the Presbyterians had made, and soliciting assistance from the Colonial Treasury ; His Excellency being at the same time privately informed that the Presbyterians proposed to erect a plain, unassuming building, to cost about 2000*l.* Sir Thomas Brisbane, who was then Governor of New South Wales, being himself a Scotsman and a Presbyterian, and a subscriber for the erection of the Scots Church, was of course well-disposed to the measure ; but he unfortunately suffered himself in that, as in many other instances, to be governed by the Colonial Secretary,³ who had a private pique to gratify in regard to one of the memorialists, and who persuaded His Excellency, contrary to the uniform tenor of his own experience and observation, that Scots Presbyterians were a factious and dangerous people, whom it was impolitic to encourage. Sir Thomas Brisbane was therefore induced to read publicly, subscribe, and publish in the colonial newspapers, a reply to the Presbyterian memorial, which the Colonial Secretary had concocted ; and in which the Presbyterians were told that it would be time for them to ask assistance from the Government when they showed they could conduct themselves as well as the Roman Catholics of the colony, who at that time were almost without exception either convicts or emancipated convicts. Nothing can more strongly indicate the state of vassalage

³ Frederick Goulburn, Esq., a major in the army, with whom was associated in this particular case the late Dr. Douglas.

to which Sir Thomas had allowed himself to be reduced at the period I refer to, than his signing a document conveying so offensive and so unmerited a censure on a number of his own countrymen.

Not aware, at the time, of the miserable state of bondage to which the despotic authority then exercised in the colonies had reduced all classes of men, I expected that the gentlemen who had presented the memorial, and who were all civil officers or merchants of the highest respectability in the colony, would address a firm but respectful remonstrance to the Governor on the subject of the imputations he had thrown on themselves and their nation in his reply ; but no such document being forthcoming, I felt myself called on to write to His Excellency on the subject myself. In the course of his reply to the Presbyterian Memorial, it had been stated that " Toleration was the glory of the Church of England ; and, therefore, if Presbyterians did not approve of her ritual, she did not forbid them to worship in any other way which they might think more likely to glorify religion." In my letter to His Excellency I observed, in reference to this statement, that " Toleration was not the glory of the Church of England, but of the British Constitution : Scotsmen were not, therefore, reduced to the necessity of receiving toleration as a boon from the Church of England : their civil and religious liberties were won for them by the swords of their forefathers ; and they were a degenerate race if in every situation they did not vindicate their right to both." The other parts of my letter were deemed sufficiently dutiful and respectful ; but the passage I have just quoted was considered so offensive at Government House that Sir Thomas immediately despatched his aide-de-camp to the bank of New South Wales, where the list of subscribers for the erection of the Scots Church was deposited, to erase his name and those of all his family and suite from the list.

I had thus the honour of being placed by authority on the list of "the proscribed" before I had been six months in the colony; but "it is good to bear the yoke" in one's "youth." Sir Thomas Brisbane indeed soon perceived his error in the steps he had taken towards the Presbyterians, and did everything in his power to repair the injury it had occasioned: but it often happens that the man who is all-powerful to do evil is utterly powerless to do good when that evil is once done. For although Earl Bathurst, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, subsequently reprimanded Sir Thomas Brisbane for the reply he had given to the memorial of the Presbyterians, and directed him to advance to them one-third of the estimated cost of their church, with a salary of 300*l.* per annum for their minister, His Excellency's procedure in the first instance proved "a heavy blow and great discouragement" to the Christian enterprise with which I was indentified.

During my absence in England, in the year 1825, the Rev. Thomas Hobbes Scott, having been appointed Archdeacon of New South Wales—an office which was then instituted for the first time—with a salary of 2000*l.* a year, arrived in the territory. Mr. Scott was by no means a young man, and he had passed through all the previous scenes of his life as a layman. It was commonly reported in the colony that he had originally been in business in the city of London; and that, having been unsuccessful, he had afterwards been attached to the British Consulate in one of the Italian ports of the Mediterranean. He had made his *début*, however, in the colony several years before, in the subordinate and lay capacity of clerk or secretary to Mr. Commissioner Bigge, of whose Commission of Inquiry into the state of the colony I have already had occasion to make mention. I presume it was in consequence of Mr. Bigge's Report that the Government were induced to appoint an archdeacon for the Australian colonies; and,

as Mr. Scott happened very opportunely to enter into holy orders while the matter was under consideration, he received the appointment.

Mr. Scott's private character and general education were unexceptionable; but his theological attainments were extremely meagre, and his previous manner of life, and especially the circumstance of his having already appeared in the colony in so different a capacity, rendered his appointment injudicious in the highest degree, and betrayed a lamentable want of consideration for the real welfare of the country. Of the doctrines and practice which constitute what is styled by the Christian world *evangelical religion*, Mr. Scott had no idea. Viewing religion as a mere matter of State policy, and the colonial Episcopal clergy as a chartered body possessing the exclusive monopoly of intermeddling with its concerns, his maxim evidently was, "Let Episcopacy reign alone in the Australian colonies, and let no Presbyterian dog be permitted to bark within her ample domain."⁴

Contemporaneously with the appointment of Mr. Scott, a Church and School Corporation was established by Royal Charter in the year 1825, by which the whole care of religion and education in New South Wales was assigned to the Episcopalian clergy, to whom a seventh of the whole continent, or a piece of land as large as the island of Great Britain, was liberally allotted as a suitable reward for their trouble; and as it was wisely considered that the land was of little value so long as it remained in a waste

⁴ Archdeacon Scott's procedure towards other Protestant communions was pretty much like that of Amaziah, the high priest at Bethel, to the prophet Amos.

"Also Amaziah said unto Amos, O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there: but prophesy not again any more at Bethel; for it is the King's chapel, and it is the King's court" (Amos vii. 12, 13).

state, the privileged clergy were very properly allowed in the meantime to extract whatever they might think necessary from the public purse, till the increase of population should render their estate valuable in proportion to their deserts. The Charter provided for the future erection of a bishopric in the colony, and declared expressly that the bishop was to be paid first—no archdeacon to receive anything till the bishop was satisfied. The archdeacons were to follow next, and whatever they left was to be divided among the rectors; the working clergy or curates to receive nothing till the latter had got enough.

The wasteful extravagance that characterized this monstrous incubus upon the energies of the colony was only equalled by the intolerance of its agents. In the year 1828, when the whole population did not exceed 36,598 (of whom about one half belonged to other communions), the cost of the Episcopalian establishment of the colony exceeded 22,000*l.*, the mere cost of the management of the Corporation being upwards of 2000*l.* a year. Accounts of the most discreditable character were trumped up by individual chaplains, who had ample salaries and allowances of every description besides; and these accounts were passed and paid by the Corporation, of which, in all probability, they were themselves members—voting individually for each other. In this way the two Episcopalian chaplains in Sydney presented, one an account for 700*l.*, and the other an account for 500*l.*, which were both paid them, in addition to all their regular and accustomed demands, at a time when money was bearing an extraordinary value, and many respectable proprietors were literally ruined from the disastrous effects of the sheep and cattle mania of previous years.

The necessary and direct tendency of the system and practice of which I have thus given a slight sketch was to lower the standard of religion throughout the colony.

by identifying the ministers of religion, in the estimation of the colonial public, with a regularly organized system of grasping covetousness.

In fact, the prevalence of the system and practice I have been describing, gave extensive currency and credit in the Australian colonies to the scandalous and delusive idea that religion is mere priestcraft, and that the ministers of religion are mere mercenary hirelings, whose whole and sole object is gain. I have heard this idea broached too frequently myself, and in too great a variety of forms, by men of some consequence in the colony, not to know that it is perfectly consistent with a decent conformity to the established observances of a Christian Church.

It is doubtless for such reasons as these that so much anxiety is uniformly evinced in the Word of God, that ministers of religion should approve themselves disinterested men, and should *covet no man's silver, or gold, or apparel*; and the lower the standard of morals and religion has sunk in any country, there is just the more imperious necessity for disinterestedness on the part of the clergy. "*Is it a time*," said the prophet Elisha to his servant Gehazi, when the greedy hireling had followed the chariot of the Syrian lord, and obtained a portion of his pelf, under pretence of receiving it for his master—" *Is it a time to receive money, and to receive garments, and olive-yards, and vineyards, and sheep, and oxen, and men-servants, and maid-servants? The leprosy, therefore, of Naaman shall cleave unto thee, and unto thy seed for ever.*"⁵ The Church of God may be deserted for a season, and disesteemed, and trodden under foot of men; but if her hands are undefiled with *the accursed thing*, and if her heart is still right with her Almighty Preserver, she will at length *look forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.* On

⁵ 2 Kings v. 26.

the other hand, if *the wedge of gold and the Babylonish garment* are found *hidden in the tents* of the clergy, as is too frequently the case in all communions both at home and abroad, the armies of Israel will assuredly experience defeat and disaster from the Canaanites of the land.

In the meantime every mean and petty attempt was made to invade the rights and privileges of other communions, and to prevent their members from obtaining the regular dispensation of the ordinances of religion for themselves. The Presbyterians in particular, who were gradually increasing in number, were virtually subjected to a species of proscription during the whole period of the government of General Darling; and, besides being obliged individually, as the senior minister of the body, to maintain a constant warfare for every inch of ground, and for the recognition of every right and privilege to which they were entitled as citizens and subjects, I had to make repeated voyages to England on their behalf.

It was when things were in the state I have described at the close of General Darling's administration, that Major-General Sir Richard Bourke arrived in the colony in December, 1831. Casting his eye, as a philosopher and a statesman, over the colony, it was not difficult for His Excellency to discover the extremely mischievous and ruinous tendency of the then existing system, and the necessity for a change. He did not venture, however, to express his opinion, in reference to such a change as it was necessary for the Government to effect, till he had maturely considered the subject in all its bearings on the best interests of the colony; for it was not until he had been nearly two years in the country that he addressed his famous despatch on Churches and Schools to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies. That despatch, which was conceived in a spirit of impartial justice and characterized by consummate ability, had been

addressed to Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl Derby), when Secretary of State for the Colonies, in September, 1833, but had not been answered till his lordship had been succeeded by Lord Glenelg, in November, 1835. Its principles, although not arranged categorically, may be stated as follows :—

“ 1. That in the present state of this colony, it is expedient and necessary, for the furtherance and promotion of religion and good government, that the Government should extend its countenance and support to the dispensation of the ordinances of religion.

“ 2. That it is equally expedient and necessary that this countenance and support should be extended in such a way as not to render the ministers of religion independent of the Christian liberality and respect of their people.

“ 3. That the exclusive establishment and endowment of any one Church, or body of professing Christians, in this colony, is equally inexpedient and impracticable.

“ 4. That as there are at present three religious bodies or Churches already recognized and supported by the State in this colony, viz. the Episcopalians, the Roman Catholics, and the Presbyterians, who constitute the three most numerous and leading denominations in the colony, it is expedient and necessary for the future, with a view to the promotion of religion and good government, and the establishment of peace and concord, to extend the countenance and support of Government to these Churches or religious bodies indiscriminately ; leaving it in the power of the Local Government to extend that countenance and support to other Churches or religious denominations, as they shall see proper.⁶

⁶ “ The inhabitants of this colony are of many different religious persuasions, the followers of the Church of England being the most numerous ; but there are also large bodies of Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, besides Protestant Dissenters of many different denominations, having separate places of worship. Of the convicts who have arrived here for the last seven years, about one-third are Irish and Catholic ; and if the families of these persons, arriving from Ireland in considerable numbers, are taken into account, it may be stated with some probability of accuracy, that about one-fifth of the whole population of the colony

"5. That it is expedient that the countenance and support of Government should henceforth be extended to these Churches or religious bodies in the following manner, viz.:—

- "1. That whenever a sum not less than 300*l.* shall have been raised by private contributions towards the building of a church or chapel, and minister's dwelling, the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, be authorized to issue from the colonial treasury any sum not exceeding the amount of such private contributions, to the extent of 1000*l.*, in aid of the undertaking.
- "2. The Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to issue stipends to officiating ministers at the following rates, namely:—
 - "If there be a resident population of 100 adults, subscribing a declaration of their desire to attend the church or chapel of such minister, 100*l.* per annum.
 - "If 200 adults, 150*l.* per annum.
 - "If 500 adults, 200*l.* per annum.

is Catholic. The members of the Church of Scotland form a smaller portion, but are amongst the most respectable of the inhabitants, and are to be found, with fewer exceptions, in the class of free emigrants. For administering the offices of religion to these three principal denominations of Christians, there are, of the Church of England, an archdeacon, fifteen chaplains, and four catechists; of the Church of Scotland, four paid ministers; and of the Romish Church, there are a vicar-general and two priests, at present receiving stipends from Government; but further sums have been voted by the Council for the support of four additional Roman Catholic chaplains in the next year. The clergy of the Church of England are supported chiefly by payments from the Treasury, and to a small amount by the rent and sale of lands formerly granted to the Church and School Corporation. The charge for the Church of England next year, including that for minor church officers and contingencies of all sorts, is estimated at 11,542*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* The whole charge on the public treasury for the Church of Scotland for the same period is 600*l.*, and for Roman Catholic chaplains and chapels 1500*l.* The Protestant Dissenters receive no support from Government beyond some small grants of land made to some of them, as sites upon which to erect their places of worship."—*Sir Richard Bourke's Despatch to Lord Stanley.*

- “3. If, notwithstanding, there be less than 100 adults, the Governor and Executive Council to be authorized to issue, under special circumstances, a stipend of 100*l.* per annum.
- “4. In places where there is no church or chapel, and there is a reasonable ground for delaying the erection of the same, the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to be authorized to issue any sum not exceeding 100*l.* towards the stipend of a minister, in aid of private contributions to the same amount, such contributions not being less than 50*l.*
- “5. Trustees, not less than three in number, to be appointed for every church or chapel by the private contributors towards the same; to which Trustees the real estate therein shall be conveyed, and who shall receive and account for sums issued in pursuance of this Act.
- “6. Free sittings to be reserved in every church or chapel, to the extent of one-fourth of the whole, for the use of poor persons.
- “7. Trustees to be appointed for churches or chapels already erected.”

The system recommended by Sir Richard Bourke proposed to combine the permanence and security of a religious establishment with the life and vigour of the voluntary system. His Excellency, I can state, on his own authority, would have preferred the latter system as the “more excellent way;” but he had to defer to the opinions and prejudices of the public, as well as to the claims and demands of alleged vested rights; and, therefore, being unable to effect the establishment of the right system of giving to none, he adopted the expedient of even-handed political justice of giving to all. Besides, the important measure of which Sir Richard Bourke was thus the author, and which was itself the first instance the colony had ever seen of the recognition of an equality of rights in matters of religion, was not only a measure of justice, but a measure of necessity. Constituted as the colonies are, of a population composed of three converging streams flowing contemporaneously from three kingdoms, whose inhabitants respectively profess three different forms of religion, the only alternative which a

Government endued with common sense could possibly have adopted was that of establishing either the system of France and Belgium, where the clergy of all denominations are supported equally by the Government, or the system of America, where all are indiscriminately left to the free-will offerings of the people. Viewing the matter politically, therefore, the measure was a right one; but a very different judgment must surely be passed upon it if viewed in the light of the Christian religion. The theory of a Church establishment, viz. "that it is the duty of a Government to support the truth in matters of religion," may be right, or it may be wrong; but it surely cannot admit of question whether it can ever be the duty of a Government to support both truth and error at the same time, and from the same common purse—it cannot admit of question whether it can ever be the duty of a Government to sow tares with the one hand and wheat with the other in the same field. Even on the principle of a Church establishment, Sir Richard Bourke's famous measure was antisciptural, latitudinarian, and infidel in its character, and could not fail to be ultimately and extensively demoralizing in its tendency and effects.

I have long been convinced, indeed, that the interests of the Christian religion would by this time have been in a much more advanced and prosperous state than they actually are in all the Australian colonies, if not one sixpence had ever been paid from the colonial treasury to a single minister of religion of any communion, and if the planting of Churches had been left entirely to Christian philanthropy and British benevolence. Religion is a sensitive plant, which, when delicately handled, refuses not to grow under the shadow of the royal oak; but it is so apt in that situation, and especially in the colonies, to be trodden down by the sycophant, the formalist, and the worldling; while other plants, which the Great Husbandman has not pla-

so apt to be cultivated in its stead, that it is far likelier to flourish in the open field of the world, where those who are unacquainted with the habits of the plant are apt to imagine it can find no depth of soil to strike its roots downward, and no shelter from the pitiless storm. So long as the Ark remains the symbol of the God of Israel, the Strength of Israel is pledged for its defence; when it ceases to maintain that high character, it is worth defending no longer. A short-sighted priesthood—a priesthood of little faith—may be ready to exclaim in the bitterness of their heart, at the bare idea of being obliged to forego the advantages of a religious establishment, *The glory is departed, for the Ark of God is taken!* But the mighty and mysterious symbol will still be safe even in the cities of its enemies; and the gods of the Philistines and the might of their people will at length fall prostrate before it.

The General Church Act, embodying the liberal principles advocated by Sir Richard Bourke, and sanctioned by the Home Government, was passed in the year 1836. It was a period of transcendent importance in the history of New South Wales. The immigration, both public and private, of the three years ending on the 31st of December, 1836, had averaged only 1500 per annum; but it then took a sudden start—rising rapidly from 3477 in 1837, to 10,549 in 1839, and to 22,483 in 1841. In such circumstances it was of paramount importance to the moral and religious welfare of the country for all time coming, to make a great effort on its behalf, through the opening afforded by the General Church Act, to which, I confess, I was not unwilling to give a fair trial. With the best feelings, therefore, towards my fellow-colonists of the Roman Catholic communion, to whom I had always cordially desired that the same political rights and advantages should be accorded as to Protestants of all communions, I earnestly endeavoured, through the public press, which at that period was

somewhat under my own personal influence, to stir up colonial Protestants of all denominations—in view of the extraordinary efforts which the Roman Catholics were then making, not only in Australia, but throughout the Pacific—to every needful exertion to insure the general prevalence and ascendancy of the great principles of the Protestant Reformation throughout the habitable regions of the Southern hemisphere. With this view, the following remarks, to which I now recur with pleasure, were published in a colonial journal which I had under my control in the year 1836:—

“ On the character and conduct of the Protestant ministers, of all communions, who may be sent forth to supply the present demand for such ministers in the Australian colonies, and thereby to form the nucleus of a Christian Church in one of the most important centres of moral and religious influence which the round globe presents at this moment to the eye of Christian philanthropy, will depend, in a far greater degree than can possibly be conceived in England, the welfare of a large portion of the future inhabitants of the southern and eastern hemispheres. From its vast extent and boundless resources, from its rapidly increasing wealth and population, and especially from its geographical position, the colony of New South Wales will not only take the lead among the Australian settlements, and insure general predominance in that continent to whatever communion, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, shall eventually occupy the foreground in its territory, but prove a source of moral influence besides, either for good or for evil, to millions and millions more of the human race : for, in addition to a continent nearly equal in extent to all Europe, and presenting, moreover, eight thousand miles of sea-coast, numerous harbours of first-rate character and importance, and an unknown extent of available land, the moral influence of the Christian Church of New South

Wales will extend, eventually, to the neighbouring islands of New Zealand, containing a large native population, and comprising an extent of territory almost equal to that of the British islands; to the western islands of the Pacific, numberless and teeming with inhabitants; to the Indian Archipelago, that great storehouse of nations; to China itself. That the Romish Propaganda has already directed her vulture eye to this vast field of moral influence, and strewn it in imagination with the carcases of the slain, is unquestionable. Spanish monks and friars have within the last few years been sent from the recently formed republics of South America to the eastern islands of the Pacific: other groups, still more distant from the American continent, have also been surveyed and taken possession of by Romish missionaries, direct from France; and the Roman Catholic Bishop of New South Wales is already taking his measures for co-operating with these missionaries, from the westward, by training up missionary priests, in New South Wales and Tasmania, and dispersing them over the length and breadth of the vast Pacific. In such circumstances, anything like listlessness or inactivity, on the part of the Protestant communions of New South Wales, would be nothing less than high treason to the cause of the Protestant Reformation."

As Sir Richard Bourke stated in his famous letter to Lord Stanley, on the churches and schools of the colony, that the three largest religious denominations in the colony, and the only three that were receiving State aid, were the Episcopalians or members of the Church of England, the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics, I shall mention a few particulars illustrative of the state and character of these three bodies respectively, till the next great change took place in the Ecclesiastical constitution of the colony in the year 1862. I do so the more willingly in consequence of the prominence that has recently been given in very

high quarters to the subject of Ritualism in the Church of England, as it will doubtless be interesting to many to learn how much we have had of it in times past in the Australian colonies.

The colonial Episcopal Establishment, with the cost of its maintenance, as far as that cost was defrayed from the Ordinary Revenue of the colony, in the year 1850, was as follows :—

Diocese of Sydney.

	£	s.	d.
Bishop and Metropolitan	1,500	0	0
Archdeacon	460	0	0
Forty clergymen, with half-salary for one absent on leave	8,001	13	3
Allowances for house-rent, forage, travelling expenses, &c.	790	18	0
In aid of building eight churches	2,263	6	1
	<hr/>		
	£13,015	17	4
	<hr/>		

Diocese of Newcastle.

Suffragan Bishop	500	0	0
Sixteen clergymen	2,781	0	1
Allowances for house-rent, forage, and travelling ex- penses	268	2	0
In aid of building two churches	479	5	9
	<hr/>		
	£4,028	7	10
	<hr/>		

Diocese of Melbourne.

Suffragan Bishop	500	0	0
Three clergymen	330	5	8
In aid of building one church	300	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£1,130	5	8
	<hr/>		

Total cost of Episcopalian Church Establishment of New South Wales, including the district of Port Phillip £18,174 10 10

In addition to the funds derived from Government under the General Church Act, there were placed in the hands of Bishop Broughton, for the support of religious worship in his diocese, by the Society for the Propagation of the

Gospel, in the year 1845, funds to the amount of 5125*l. 3s.* What amount may now be derived from the same source, by the three bishops respectively, under the ecclesiastical division of the colony that has since taken place, I have not been informed; and it is quite impossible to ascertain what amounts are contributed by the people directly, whether in the form of pew-rents or otherwise.

It is of more importance, however, to ascertain what was the peculiar character and quality of the religious instruction which was supplied to the Episcopalian colonists generally for this amount of public expenditure. And on this point I am happily relieved from the invidious position of pronouncing a judgment upon the ministers of a different communion, by having it in my power to appeal to the authorized productions of these functionaries themselves. At a meeting, therefore, of the metropolitan and suffragan bishops of the province of Australasia, held at Sydney in the month of October, 1850, and of which the Minutes of Proceedings were afterwards published in the colonial journals, the following was the declaration of the Synod on the testing point of Baptismal Regeneration:—

"VIII. HOLY BAPTISM."

"We believe Regeneration to be the work of God in the Sacrament of Baptism, by which infants baptized with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, die unto sin, and rise again unto righteousness, and are made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven.

"We believe this regeneration to be the particular grace prayed for, and expected, and thankfully acknowledged to have been received in the baptismal services.

"We believe that it is the doctrine of our Church that all infants do by baptism receive this grace of regeneration. But remembering the words of our Lord instituting the Holy Sacrament of Baptism (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20), which enjoin that they who are baptized, are to be made disciples and to be taught, we are of opinion that whenever an infant is baptized, an assurance ought to be given at the

same time on its behalf (by some one or more baptized persons) that it will be brought up in the faith of Christ.

"We do not recognize in the infant itself any unfitness which disqualifies it from receiving in baptism this grace of regeneration, for our Lord Jesus Christ does not deny His grace and mercy unto such infants, but most lovingly doth call them unto Him.

"We do not believe that unworthiness in ministers, parents, or sponsors, hinders this effect of the love of Christ.

"We believe that a wilful neglect of the means of grace does not prove that the gift of regeneration was never received; but in those who so fall away after baptism, we believe that the consequence of their having been regenerated is to aggravate their guilt.

"Finally, we would express, first, our cordial and entire agreement with the Articles and Formularies of our Church, in their plain and full meaning, and in their literal and grammatical sense. Secondly, our willing disposition to accept and use them all in the manner which is appointed; and with especial reference to our present subject, to carry on the work of Christian education in the firm belief that infants do receive in baptism the grace of regeneration. Thirdly, above all, we would express our unfeigned thankfulness to Almighty God for the gift and preservation of these inestimable blessings."

[Signed by the Bishops of Sydney, New Zealand, Tasmania, Adelaide, and Newcastle.]

It appears, therefore, from this expression of opinion, as well as from numerous other unmistakeable indications of the sentiments and views of these ecclesiastical dignitaries, that, of the six bishops of the Episcopal province of Australasia, not fewer than five were thoroughly devoted to the Puseyite system; believing in the Romish anti-scriptural nostrums of baptismal regeneration and apostolical succession, and wholly inclined to travel on, with all who chose to follow them, to the very gates of Rome. The bishop of Melbourne (Dr. Perry), it seems, refused to sign this Episcopal "deliverance" on "Holy Baptism;" but he stood alone among his brethren, the only Protestant bishop of the whole six.

The following extracts are from two sermons, entitled *Baptismal Regeneration*, preached in Sydney, by Bishop Broughton, on the 22nd June, 1851. The text was John iii. 5, “ Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God :”—

“ When you were baptized and so admitted into a state of grace and covenant with God, then was your regeneration accomplished; and then through Christ you had access by one Spirit unto the Father. . . . When she [the Church] first bids us pray that each child may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration, and afterwards calls upon us to yield our hearty thanks to God that it has pleased Him to regenerate that infant, we must pity in our hearts those who can so tamper with plain language as to contend that this can be interpreted to mean anything but that every such infant is born again of the Spirit.”⁷

The two principal characteristics of Australian Puseyism at this period were a virtual recognition of the Pope as a true bishop, and an arrogant contempt for the ministers and members of all Non-Episcopalian communions. In the month of March, 1843, the Rev. Dr. Polding, the Romish bishop of New South Wales, returned to the colony, after a visit to Rome, with the style and title of archbishop, which had just been conferred upon him by the late Pope Gregory the Sixteenth, and published immediately thereafter, in the *Australasian Chronicle*, the Romish organ of the period, a “ Pastoral Letter,” granting certain indulgences, as to the use of fish, flesh and fowl, eggs, butter and bacon in Lent, to all “ the faithful ” in New South Wales, in virtue of the singular privilege conferred upon the Archbishop in these important spiritual matters, by his Holiness, the said Pope Gregory XVI. The Letter was headed “ John Bede, by the grace of God, and of the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Sydney, and Vicar Apostolic of New Holland ;” and

⁷ *Baptismal Regeneration*. Two Sermons, preached at Christ Church, in the City of Sydney, on Sunday, 22nd June, 1851. By William Grant Broughton, D.D., Bishop of Sydney.

was addressed "To the clergy and faithful of Sydney and its environs, health and benediction." The circumstance of the style and title of the Romish dignitary gave great offence to Bishop Broughton, who, being a Non-Intrusionist, as they term it in Scotland, took it very unkind of his brother-bishop, the Pope, to intrude so offensively into *his* diocese; and he accordingly assembled his clergy, on the 25th day of March, "being the festival of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the church of St. James the Apostle, in Sydney" (sic), and issued, with all due formality, what he denominated a protest against the act and deed of the Pope, whom, however, he all the while, as if in so many words, acknowledged to be a true bishop in his own proper diocese of Rome. The following is the protest :—

PROTEST.—"In the name of God. Amen. We, William Grant, by Divine permission Bishop and Ordinary Pastor of Australia, do protest publicly and explicitly, on behalf of ourselves and our successors Bishops of Australia, on behalf of the clergy and all the faithful of the same church and diocese, and also on behalf of William, by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, and his successors, that the Bishop of Rome has not any right or authority according to the laws of God, and the canonical Order of the Church, to institute any episcopal or archiepiscopal see or sees within the limits of the diocese of Australia and Province of Canterbury aforesaid. And we do hereby publicly and explicitly, and deliberately protest against, dissent from, and contradict, any and every act of episcopal, or metropolitan authority done, or to be done, at any time, or by any person whatever, by virtue of any right or title derived from any assumed jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority of the said Bishop of Rome enabling him to institute any episcopal see or sees within the diocese and province hereinbefore named." &c. &c. &c.

The protest was embodied in a notarial document, drawn up with all due legal verbosity by the Bishop's Registrar, and was witnessed and signed as follows, by the clergy present:—

"We, the undersigned presbyters, duly licensed within the diocese and jurisdiction of Australia, being present in the church of St. James, the Apostle, at Sydney, in the diocese of Australia and colony of New South Wales, at the festival of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the year of our Lord, 1843, do hereby testify that the Right Reverend Father in God, William Grant, Bishop of Australia, personally attending and assisting at the celebration of Divine Service on the festival aforesaid, at the conclusion of the Nicene Creed, standing at the north side of the altar or communion table of the said church, holding in his hand a certain parchment or schedule, did read therefrom, in our presence, and in the sight and hearing of the congregation all that Protest hereinbefore set forth, without any addition or diminution whatsoever. In witness whereof," &c. &c.

This public proceeding was followed up by the Bishop with a letter to his clergy, dated on the festival aforesaid, in which he expressly acknowledged the Bishop of Rome to be a true bishop, while he strongly protested against his intruding into other people's dioceses! *

Conceiving the whole affair exceedingly discreditable in itself, as well as damaging to our common Protestantism, I published, in the *Colonial Observer* of the period, a comment, of which the following is an extract, on the Bishop's protest; viewing it first as a civil act, secondly as an ecclesiastical manifesto, and finally, as a Protestant document:—

"Viewing the protest, therefore, as a purely civil act, affecting,

* Well might the Romish priest address Bishop Broughton and his coadjutors in such language as the following:—

"O Puseyites! what shall I say to you? You know you are not Protestants, and we know you are not Catholics; you are much nearer us than them. Why will you not come over entirely to us? The Mother Church has been long waiting with open arms to receive you; and the Holy Virgin, with extended arms, is ready to embrace you. Why do you longer waver in the declaration of your faith? Why do you not make the little step (*piccolo passo*) which separates you from us?" —*Padre Grossi's Sermon at Rome during Lent, 1843.*

or rather intended to affect, the civil rights of the Rev. Dr. Polding, we should like to know why Dr. Polding, as a British subject, has not as good a right to set up the whole machinery of his anti-scriptural Church in this territory as Dr. Broughton has to set up the whole machinery of *his*; of which, we confess, the scriptural character is to say the least of it very questionable also, if it is to be judged of only by such documents as Bishop Broughton's protest. Nay, had the Roman Catholics of this colony been all Mahometans, and Dr. Polding their Archmufti instead of their Archbishop as at present, with full powers derived from His Imperial Majesty the Grand Turk, Abdul Medgid, the only recognized head of the Mahometan Church, to exercise all ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction over all and sundry the Mahometans of New Holland, we should like to know how any protest of Bishop Broughton's could possibly have affected his civil right—as a British subject, which it is taken for granted he is all the while—to build mosques, to make converts, and to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all the members of his sect in this territory. For it is not merely the fact that Mahometans are tolerated in the British Empire; they are actually, and we will add justly too, secured in the possession of all the private property bequeathed to them for the support of their delusion, and protected in the public exercise and observance of all that is proper and peculiar to that delusion by the laws of the land. As a civil act, therefore, Bishop Broughton's protest was like the firing of a child's pop-gun—an act, whatever may have been its object, without the possibility of result, an *imbelle telum* that only demonstrated the nervelessness of the arm that had sent it forth. Of course we shall not be suspected of any leaning towards the Roman Catholics as a religious denomination. Our opinion of their entire system, as a monstrous system of priestcraft and superstition, is well-known; but their civil and religious liberties, as British subjects, we shall always esteem it our bounden duty to advocate and contend for, precisely as if they were our own.

"As an ecclesiastical manifesto on the rival and conflicting claims of the Romish and Anglican episcopates, it is impossible for any candid person, who is at all acquainted with the subject it treats of, to speak of Bishop Broughton's protest with anything like respect. It is the lamest affair imaginable. Why, by his own showing, the Pope, or Bishop of Rome, is as good and true a bishop as himself! There is no blemish of bastardy on his escutcheon; no sentence of attainder has ever been passed against him by the Anglican Bench. He is lineally descended from the Apostle Peter, who, it is well

known, was a married man ; which, by the way, we wish much for decency's sake certain of his reputed sons, the Popes, had been too, considering the large families some of them left behind them. In short, if the Pope wants a certificate of character, setting forth that he is a true bishop, having, not the mark of the Beast (as we simple Protestants have hitherto been accustomed to allege), but the mark of genuine apostolical succession, on his forehead, Bishop Broughton is his man—he has virtually and publicly pledged himself to give it to his Holiness whenever he sends for it." Only let the Pope send none of his understrappers here, especially with an Episcopal title superior to Bishop Broughton's; for however well-disposed towards his Holiness as a brother bishop, when he keeps his distance and confines himself to his own proper province, Bishop Broughton,—

" 'Turk-like, can bear no brother near the throne.'

" Now, on Bishop Broughton's own showing, we can have no hesitation in deciding for the Roman Catholics in the matter of apostolical succession. There can be no doubt as to *their* lineal descent and succession ; for even Bishop Broughton certifies to the fact. But there *are* great doubts as to the direct lineal character of his own succession and descent ; and till these doubts are set at rest by some infallible authority, it is safest for us, as impartial judges, to give it for Dr. Polding. Nay, as Dr. Polding is not only a genuine and undoubted bishop in Bishop Broughton's opinion, but a bishop of a higher grade than himself ; and as there cannot, it seems, be two bishops in one province, to use the approved phraseology in such cases, we confess we can see no reason whatever why Bishop Broughton should remain any longer *here*, and we would therefore advise him by all means to be off by the first opportunity for New Caledonia or New Guinea, where there are still unfortunately no bishops at all.

" It is as a professed Protestant document, however, that we would choose to deal with Bishop Broughton's *soi-disant* protest in real earnest ; for in this character, we repeat it, he has not only compromised our common Protestantism, but grossly insulted every non-Episcopalian Protestant minister in this territory.

" For if the Pope's bishops are true bishops, and to be received in that capacity by the whole Christian Church, as Bishop Broughton virtually tells us they are, where, we ask, was the necessity for the Protestant Reformation ; and why is the Pope designated by all genuine Protestants, *the man of Sin*, and his Church, *Babylon, the mother of harlots and of all abominations?* Is the high and holy

cause of our glorious Reformation, for which we confess we wage eternal war with Rome and all her breed, to be thus degraded into a pitiful contest between the Rev. Dr. Broughton, the Queen's bishop, and the Rev. Dr. Polding, the Pope's bishop, as to which of them, forsooth, is the nearest related in direct lineal descent to the Apostles Peter and Paul? Perish all such caricatures of Protestantism as this! If we believed, or had even the slightest suspicion that there was anything in the precious figment of apostolical succession, which the English Reformers, to their immortal honour, repudiated as much as we do, we should be Roman Catholics to-morrow. We should go the whole *hog* at once, and never stop at the half-way house with Bishop Broughton. 'By their *fruits* ye shall know them,' was the divinely-appointed test for discovering the true bishops from the counterfeit; and such a scramble for worldly power, and worldly pre-eminence, and worldly adulation, as no man of discernment can fail to perceive, on the part of both the rival bishops of this colony, is, in our opinion at least, no fruit either of genuine apostolicity or of genuine Christianity."

This impolitic procedure, on the part of Bishop Broughton—of showing his clergy how very near one may go to Rome without going there altogether—was attended with the usual results of all such anti-Protestant exhibitions and practices. In the year 1846-47, two of his clergy publicly renounced their connexion with the Church of England, and conformed to the Romish Church in Sydney; alleging afterwards, in a printed pamphlet, that the doctrines they then held and taught as Roman Catholics, were precisely the same as they had previously held and taught, as ministers of the Church of England, with the knowledge and concurrence of Bishop Broughton, and that it was this circumstance that had originally led them to inquire whether they did not owe their clerical allegiance to another Head. The whole affair was exceedingly damaging to colonial Protestantism.

In the meantime two other ministers of the Colonial Episcopal Church, who had been somewhat injudicious, perhaps, in expressing their abhorrence of these anti-Pro-

testant proceedings and doctrines, soon found the colony of New South Wales Proper too hot for them, and were obliged eventually to leave it for Port Phillip.

The publication of the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Episcopal Synod in Sydney, excited a prodigious ferment in the neighbouring colonies. It was generally regarded by both clergy and laity, not merely as an authoritative declaration of the Puseyite or Ritualistic doctrine in regard to baptism, in direct opposition to the Articles of the Church of England, but as an insidious attempt to get laws for their communion passed in England, in favour of the bishops, without their consent. Public meetings were accordingly held, first of all at Adelaide, in South Australia, then in Tasmania, and afterwards at Port Phillip or Victoria; and strong resolutions were passed by the Episcopalianists of these colonies, condemnatory of the unscriptural doctrine of the bishops, and of their attempted usurpation of an undue authority over their clergy. Nay, as a proof of there being both life and vigour, not only among the Episcopalian laity of these provinces, but among the clergy also, the Bishop of Melbourne, at a public meeting of his clergy, which was held some time after the Episcopal Synod in Sydney, expressed his willingness to have his church thrown upon the voluntary system, rather than have an endowment on the condition that Popery should have one also. And the first petition that was presented to the first Representative Legislature in Tasmania, was a petition from the Rev. Dr. Browne, a highly respectable and influential Episcopalian minister of long standing in Launceston in that island, praying for the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church, or the entire separation of Church and State, in that colony. This, indeed, was the only hope for the Episcopalianists of the Australian colonies at that period.

Very different indeed was the spirit in which the Epis-

copal Synod was regarded by the leading Episcopalianians of New South Wales, for at a public meeting in Sydney, "pillars of remembrance" were voted and subscribed for, to commemorate a Synod, which was regarded by their co-religionists in all the neighbouring colonies with indignation and alarm. Spiritless and contemptible, however, as the leading Episcopalianians of the older colony proved themselves on that occasion, in comparison with the members of their own communion in the three neighbouring provinces, I am happy to be able to state that the great majority of the Episcopalian laity of New South Wales were thoroughly opposed to the Puseyite system; and whenever the axe is laid to the root of the tree of all Ecclesiastical establishments in the Australian colonies, as has been done since, the Episcopalianians of New South Wales will never tolerate a Puseyite clergy.

At the date of Sir Richard Bourke's celebrated State Paper of 1833, the Roman Catholic establishment of New South Wales consisted of a vicar-general, and two priests; four other priests being then expected from England. In the year 1850, it consisted, including the district of Port Phillip, of an archbishop and two suffragan bishops—one for Victoria, and the other for the northern settlements—and thirty-three priests. The expense of this establishment to the Colonial Treasury was as follows, viz.:—

	£ s. d.
Archbishop	500 0 0
Thirty-three priests, including one absent on leave .	5,824 11 8
Allowance for travelling expenses	200 0 0
In aid of the erection of five churches	1,634 9 1
 Total cost of Roman Catholic Establishment	 £8,169 0 9

* If I recollect aright, these pillars were to be erected in the cathedral then building in Sydney, and were to cost a hundred pounds each.

Lamentable, as it will doubtless appear to the Protestant reader, to have a British colony saddled with such an establishment, I have no hesitation in expressing it as my candid opinion that it is preferable for the colony to have downright legitimate Popery, and to pay for it as such, than that bastard form of it which at the period in question was spreading its poison over the land ; eating out the heart of our common Protestantism, and preparing the people in all directions for the yoke of Rome. The only remedy for the existing evil, in both its forms, was to leave all religious denominations to the Voluntary System. The Roman Catholic laity were very willing, it was understood, to have that system established at once, as they alleged that their priests were too independent of them under the existing system ; but the priests, it was also understood, were, probably for the same reason, opposed to any change.¹

¹ Besides the very interesting "Pastoral Letter" mentioned above, granting indulgences to all "the faithful" in New South Wales, as to the use of eggs, butter, and bacon in Lent, Archbishop Polding characterized his return to the colony by announcing a series of Sabbath Evening Lectures on the errors of Protestantism. I had a weekly journal, the *Colonial Observer*, under my influence at the time, and was, therefore, naturally very desirous of ascertaining what their errors were ; but as it would scarcely have done to send a reporter to take them down, the late Mr. John Hunter Baillie, a young Scotchman then recently arrived, having an excellent memory and very correct judgment, and afterwards my brother-in-law, volunteered to obtain the information required. So, placing himself beside a pillar in the Roman Catholic Church, and looking very innocently all the while, he brought me a remarkably correct report of Dr. Polding's Lecture, which I published, along with a critique upon it, on Wednesday morning. Nobody had any idea who had been the reporter, but the same process having been repeated in the following week, Dr. Polding, having, I suppose, had enough of this, brought the lectures to an abrupt close.

I may add that, as a member of Mr. Lewis's Select Committee on Education, I had the honour of occupying the seat of authority and putting questions, when both Bishop Broughton and Arch-

The Wesleyan Methodists had no existence, as a State Church, at the date of Sir Richard Bourke's despatch in 1833 ; but they were thenceforth one of the four colonial established churches; and, in the year 1850, they had five ministers pensioned by the State, whose united salaries amounted to 850*l.* It is much to be lamented that this influential ecclesiastical body should latterly have placed itself in opposition to the cause of civil and religious liberty both at home and abroad. It is matter of history that the celebrated John Wesley actually encouraged the Americans in their famous struggle for national independence ; but spiritual despotism and political servility seem to be the watchwords of his followers both in England and in the colonies. To consent to eat their miserable " grub " out of the same Government trough with Romanists and Puseyites—to do all in their power to support and perpetuate a system which produces such abominations—

" 'Tis strange, 'tis passing strange !
'Tis pitiful ! 'tis wondrous pitiful !
I wish I had not heard it !"

At the date of Sir Richard Bourke's despatch of 1833, the Presbyterians, or members of the Church of Scotland, whom I have purposely reserved to the last, had four ministers, receiving salaries from the State, amounting to 600*l.* altogether ; my own salary, as the senior minister, being 300*l.* per annum, which Lord Glenelg had recom-

bishop Polding were examined as witnesses before that Committee, the first time, I believe, that such a thing had ever happened in any country with a Presbyterian minister since the Reformation.

I may also add that Mr. Baillie, who had a remarkable talent for finance, and held a highly responsible office in one of the Sydney banks, died in the year 1854, leaving all his property, worth at least ten thousand pounds, subject to the life-rent of his widow, for the endowment of two Professorships in a Presbyterian College in Sydney, to which another thousand was added by his widow.

intended to be raised to 500*l.*, while each of the other ministers received 100*l.*, in addition to an equal amount from his people. In the year 1850, there were in New South Wales, including Port Phillip, seventeen ministers, whose salaries and allowances were as follows :—

	£ s. d.
Seventeen ministers	2,165 0 0
In aid of erecting two churches	167 9 10
Unexpended balance for 1848	749 17 0
Ditto ditto 1849	<hr/> 295 14 3
Total cost of Presbyterian Establishment	£3,378 1 1

The whole of these ministers, with one exception, together with a considerable number of others, were carried out and settled in the colony, at my particular instance, and through my personal exertions exclusively, in the course of several successive voyages to the mother country; and some of them even at my own private expense. It unfortunately happened, however, that at the period of my own departure for the Colonial field in the year 1822, and for many years thereafter, the Church of Scotland was entirely destitute of a missionary spirit; and the only men who could be got for the colonies were consequently men who, either from want of ability, or from want of interest, had no prospects at home, and who, as a *dernière ressource*, accepted ordination for the colonies “to eat a piece of bread.” Anything in these days—and the remark applies pretty much to all denominations alike—was considered good enough for the colonies; and there were even instances—repeated instances—of men, who, although it was known that their characters were blasted at home, were nevertheless recommended as fit and proper persons for the colonial field!

Hoping that better times had at length arrived, and that abler and better men would volunteer for the colonies, I embarked for Europe, for the fourth time, in the year 1836,

the era of the General Church Act, to procure a large additional supply of suitable ministers, and a number of schoolmasters for the education of youth; for, under the liberal system established by Sir Richard Bourke, great encouragement was then held out for the first time for the establishment of schools on liberal principles. And as I also conceived that there was a fair opening at the time for the formation of a Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, I determined, if possible, to conjoin the accomplishment of that object with the others I have mentioned.

There was an arrangement in operation at the time in New South Wales, in virtue of which any colonial proprietor could obtain an order from the Local Government for the importation of any reasonable number of families and individuals of the industrious classes, from the mother country; for whom a bounty of 15*l.* per head would be payable by the Local Government on their arrival in the colony, to assist in defraying the cost of their passage out. My brother and another magistrate of the territory (the late George Rankin, Esq., of Bathurst), having each obtained Orders from the Local Government for the importation of a hundred families and individuals, on this bounty, they both assigned these orders to me, to facilitate any arrangements I might require to make in the mother country for the passage out of the corps of ministers, schoolmasters, and missionaries, whom I contemplated carrying out to the colony.

The reader may, doubtless, suppose that this arrangement was likely rather to interfere with and retard than to facilitate the accomplishment of my object. It was quite the reverse, however. For after I had succeeded in organizing a large corps of ministers—about fifteen altogether—as many schoolmasters, and a numerous body of German missionaries, and had thus ascertained the extent of our company, I went to a shipowner and asked him, whether,

with the payment of so much in hand for the accommodation of a large body of ministers and schoolmasters in the after-part of the ship, and the assignment of the Orders for a Government bounty on so many families of the industrious classes as it could accommodate besides, he would engage to send out a large first-class vessel to New South Wales ; and I found no difficulty in making such an arrangement. And when that arrangement was made, a few hours, with the assistance of an intelligent captain, were sufficient for sketching out a plan of the accommodation necessary for the whole corps, and for ascertaining the amount of supplies required for the voyage. As for the emigrants—with a bounty of 15*l.* per head in the shape of passage-money, there was no difficulty at the time in selecting any number of the fittest persons of the industrious classes from amongst the numerous candidates that offered ; and a sufficient number to fill the ship was accordingly collected. The day and hour for sailing being fixed beforehand, all parties concerned were on the spot at the hour of embarkation, and the vessel proceeded at once upon her voyage without a moment's delay. Having the whole arrangements under my own superintendence, I was enabled to assist not a few reputable families to avail themselves of the facilities which the expedition afforded, who could never otherwise have reached Australia. The voyage was prosperous throughout, and it issued in a valuable addition of about 300 persons to the population of the colony. The corps of German missionaries from Berlin, who with their wives and lay-brethren amounted to thirty persons in all, being too large for the accommodation afforded in the first vessel, I availed myself of the second Order, and made arrangements for their following in another and smaller vessel, which they did accordingly.

Certain difficulties which had in the meantime occurred in the Colonial Presbyterian Church, arising from unneces-

sary and mischievous legislation during my absence, having rendered it necessary that I should proceed to England once more, in the year 1839, I embraced the opportunity, during my stay in the northern hemisphere, of crossing over to the United States of America. For as I then foresaw that, notwithstanding the General Church Act, the question as to the propriety of having a religious establishment in the colonies at all would very soon be the great question of the Australian colonies, I wished to ascertain for myself individually, before taking any prominent part in the discussion of that question, whether Christianity could support itself in any country, as was alleged it did in America, without the support of the State. My introductions in the United States were of the first order, including eminent men of all ranks and professions, from the President downwards.² I visited eleven of the States—from Salem, in Massachusetts, to Charleston, in South Carolina ; and my own observation abundantly confirmed the testimony I received from all quarters, viz. that Christianity could unquestionably maintain itself in the world by its own native and inherent energies, and that it required no pecuniary support from the State. On my return to England, I embodied the result of my observations in a Work, entitled “ Religion and Education in America,”³

² The late Sir James Clark, Her Majesty’s physician, and an old friend of mine, had requested Her Majesty to give him her autograph, which he had promised to procure, if possible, for a Dr. Gibson, of Philadelphia, as a friend of his was then going to America, and would carry it over. Her Majesty gave Sir James the autograph at once, which I carried over to Dr. Gibson, who invited me to a party at his house very shortly thereafter, where I met with all the *élite* of Philadelphia, whom he had invited, of course without my knowledge, to meet a gentleman who had been introduced to him by the Queen of England. He showed them the autograph, however, which explained the matter, and with which they were all delighted.

³ Ward, Paternoster Row, London.

which was published in London in the year 1840, and which, I soon ascertained, gave prodigious offence both in Scotland and in New South Wales ; salutary truths of that kind being at this comparatively early period by no means universally palateable.

Speaking of different forms of government, Montesquieu observes that "*virtue, as a general principle of government,* is essential to a democracy or republic ; necessary, in a somewhat less absolute degree, to an aristocracy or oligarchy; superseded by honour in a monarchy, and entirely disregarded under a despotism." The observation holds equally true in regard to the different forms of ecclesiastical government. The government of the Anglican and Romish churches in the Australian colonies, for example, was conducted up to the period in question on the principle of a pure despotism ; the clerical major-general, in command of the troops, having only to say to this subaltern, "Do this," and he does it, and to another "Mount guard yonder," and he obeys ; each knowing well the pains and penalties of disobedience, which are immediate and ruinous. It is evident that, under such a system, a high degree of moral and religious principle is scarcely necessary on the part of the inferior clergy to insure the external peace and tranquillity of a Church. The peace may be kept with very inferior subordinate machinery ; and the framework of a Christian Church may be set up on such principles far and wide over a country, so as to entitle the spiritual architect to the utmost bounty of the State, and to a world of commendation besides for his great services to the public.

The case is far otherwise, however, in the Presbyterian Church, which is constituted, like those of the Apostolic age, on the principle of a republic. Indeed, without a high degree of moral and religious principle on the part of the clergy, Church government, in the Presbyterian

acceptation of the phrase, is utterly impracticable ; and the whole body degenerates into a mass of pitiful inefficiency and despicable worldly-mindedness—leaving no other verdict possible for a coroner's jury, on “viewing the body,” but “Found dead !” In such circumstances—and they have, unfortunately, been realized again and again, in my own bitter experience, in Australia—even when a case of notorious delinquency occurs, involving the character and the very existence of the body, there are no means of insuring a trial ; every effort being systematically made to frustrate the ends of justice and to screen the delinquent.

Besides, my personal sacrifices and exertions for the colony for a long series of years had independently, perhaps, of any other consideration, gained for me a prominent position in the country, which my own brethren, who were all ecclesiastically my equals, could not contemplate without envy and detraction ; and my announcement of the unpalatable truth that Christianity can support itself in the world without the support of the State, was an unpardonable offence, which only served to nurture these evil feelings till they had reached, in certain quarters, the height of malignity. For the gratification of these unworthy feelings, every tie of brotherhood and gratitude was broken asunder, every object was sacrificed, every purpose for which a Christian Church exists in the world was lost sight of and neglected.

In short, distinction of any kind—whether it arises from superior talents or eminent services, from great personal sacrifices or successful exertions—is a crime which *the lower orders of the clergy* of all communions (I use the phrase in its intellectual and moral acceptation exclusively) never forgive. The Spaniards have an expressive proverb on the subject, characteristic of the practice of the Romish Church in such cases :—

"Rome tames her fools: 'tis true; but then
She ne'er forgives her learned men."

Lord John Russell affords a somewhat similar testimony, in regard to the practice in the Church of England, in the unworthy conduct of his contemporaries towards the celebrated Bishop Burnet—one of the best men, taking him all in all, who ever sat on the English Episcopal Bench.

"Bishop Burnet," observes Lord Russell, "has had many enemies; his party zeal and inquisitive temper made him obnoxious to many of his contemporaries, and the curious eye of posterity has discovered in a long life, errors which he was too imprudent to avoid, and failings which he was too vain to conceal. But above all, *he exposed himself to envy by his independence and disinterestedness, qualities which, rare as they are among mankind, are peculiarly uncommon in the body to which he belonged.*"⁴

But there is a much higher instance in point. The Apostle Paul was instrumental in planting far more Churches and in settling far more ministers in Asia Minor than I have been in Australasia; but what was the treatment which he received, notwithstanding, from the very men whom he had placed in the situations they occupied—those primitive Christians, pure and spotless as we think them, forgetting that they were mere human nature like ourselves? Why, let his own bitter complaint, in his letter to Timothy, bear witness: *This thou knowest, that ALL they which are in Asia be turned away from me; of whom are Phygelus and Hermogenes.*⁵ It is evident, therefore, that the Apostle Paul was no clerical major-general in Asia Minor, like Bishop Broughton and Archbishop Polding in Australasia. So summary a mode of governing the Christian Church as these ecclesiastical dignitaries systematically practised had not then been discovered or even thought of. In the article of Church government,

⁴ History of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht, vol. ii. p. 60.

⁵ 2 Tim. i. 15.

the great Apostle was merely a Presbyterian minister, like myself ; and some of his brethren in that capacity were evidently no better than they should have been—at least if we may judge of them from their own discreditable conduct towards that noblest specimen of humanity.

In these circumstances I was led to look more attentively than I had previously done at the principle of the General Church Act ; and observing the prevalence and prominence which it had given to Romanism and Anglo-Catholicism or Puseyism on the one hand, and the state of inefficiency in which it exhibited the Presbyterian Church—the principal antagonistic element to these anti-scriptural systems—on the other, I was irresistibly led to the conclusion, that the plan of supporting all forms of religion from the public treasury was contrary to the Word of God, latitudinarian and infidel in its character, and essentially demoralizing in its tendency and effects. On this conviction I accordingly acted ; for, on the 6th of February, 1842, fifteen months before the famous disruption of the Church of Scotland, I publicly renounced all connexion with the State and the State Churches of the colony as a minister of religion ; on the ground of the unscriptural character of the politico-ecclesiastical system of the colony, and because I despaired of seeing the proper objects of a Christian Church realized under that system. It was my intention at the time to have left the colony immediately, and to have gone to New Zealand—a country of the capabilities of which I had formed a very high idea, from having spent a short time there in the year 1839 ; but my congregation interfering, and insisting that I should remain in the colony, I agreed to do so and to run all hazards.

About eight months thereafter, at their annual meeting of October following, my quondam brethren, with whom I had had no communication in the interval, pretended to bring me to trial for this act of alleged contumacy ;

expecting, of course, that I would not attend. I did attend, however, together with a number of my personal friends; and after reminding them of their ingratitude towards myself, and their betrayal of trust in compromising the character and interests of our Church for the gratification of their envy and malignity towards me, I wrung from them the reluctant confession, that, up to the 6th of February, 1842, when I publicly renounced all further connexion with their body, there was nothing in my character or conduct, either public or private, from the period of my first arrival in the colony, that could be laid to my charge or imputed to me as a crime. Having obtained this public acknowledgment, which was all I wanted, I left the place of meeting immediately with my friends; leaving my quondam brethren to do their deed of darkness by themselves.

All that these men could rightly have done to me in such circumstances was simply to declare me no longer a member of their body or a minister of their Church; for this was precisely what was done by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in circumstances somewhat similar, only a few months thereafter, when 400 ministers separated themselves at once from her communion, and formed the Free Church. But this would have been far from satisfying the feelings of envy and malignity which had dictated the whole proceeding; and they accordingly pretended, in my absence, to depose me from the office of the ministry—an act of the sheerest folly and infatuation, as it was simply *ultra vires*, or beyond their powers.⁶ The

⁶ It is remarkable how often this species of ecclesiastical artillery has been brought to bear, by clerical envy and malignity, against the brightest ornaments of the Christian Church, both in ancient and modern times. To give only a single instance under each of these periods: the celebrated Athanasius of Alexandria was excommunicated and deposed by his brethren; and so also was the late Rev.

object of this act, however,—which even the more prominent of the Puseyite clergy of the colony, to whom I had uniformly been opposed, regarded as a monstrous proceeding—was sufficiently obvious : it was to have the twofold effect of degrading me in the estimation of the colonial public, and of enabling them to seize certain valuable ecclesiastical property which I had created in the colony through the sacrifice of my own. But in both of these objects they had overshot their mark—the colonial public did not sympathize with them, as the result speedily showed ; and, in regard to the property, their threat proved inoperative, and I remain in undisturbed possession to the present hour.

But this act of clerical folly and infatuation has had results of a political character of considerable importance to the colony. Towards the close of the year 1842, a new Constitution was granted by the Imperial Parliament to the colony of New South Wales, under which a partially representative legislature was to be constituted, in which the flourishing district of Port Phillip was to be represented by six members. As Port Phillip, however, was 600 or 700 miles from Sydney, it was difficult at the time to find six men of the requisite standing in society in the district who were either willing or could afford to absent themselves for so long a period as was necessary from their private occupations, to attend the meetings of the Colonial

Dr. M'Crie, of Edinburgh, one of the ablest ministers and one of the most distinguished ecclesiastical historians of his age. I had therefore got into particularly good company. The monstrous character of the proceeding in my own case is sufficiently obvious, from the fact that there were only eleven ministers who voted in the case altogether—seven *for* my deposition, and three *against* it; one declining to vote. In Scotland the deposition of a minister is the rarest event imaginable ; and it is almost uniformly, when it does occur, for drunkenness or some other flagrant immorality—and I was to have the benefit of this impression !

“Tantène manent animis colestibus iræ ?”

Legislature ; and the inhabitants of Port Phillip accordingly agreed to elect half the number of their representatives from amongst the more prominent members of the community in Sydney. I had the honour of being one of those who were invited to occupy this position ; and although, in other circumstances, I should certainly have declined the honour, I considered the prospect which it would indirectly afford me of setting myself right with the public, both in the colony and at home, as a providential opening, of which I was quite at liberty to avail myself, and to make the most of, as opportunities might offer, for the welfare and advancement of my adopted country. I was accordingly elected one of the six representatives of Port Phillip in the first Representative Legislature of New South Wales ; and it was my uniform and steadfast advocacy of the rights and interests of the people, during the first four sessions of the first Legislative Council, that induced the people of Sydney, on my return to the colony from England, in the year 1850, to elect me one of their representatives⁷ notwithstanding every effort on the part of the local government to prevent it, in the Second Council. And when that Council was at length dissolved, and a third constituted in its stead, under a New Act of Parliament, my general procedure, as an advocate of popular rights, on this second occasion, induced my fellow-citizens to elect me one of their representatives once more, in the month of September, 1851, and to place me at the head of the poll by the largest majority ever known in the colony.

As for my *quondam* brethren, whose pitiful act of impotent malignity undoubtedly led to these remarkable results, they speedily sank, by their own specific gravity, to their native insignificance and contempt. As a proof of their utter incapacity to fulfil the objects and intentions of a Christian Church, I may state that although the colonial population

⁷ They had only two at the time.

had been doubled in the interval, they had neither added a single minister to their number, nor made the slightest advance for ten years from the time when I publicly renounced all connexion with their "dead body," notwithstanding the prodigious strides which the Anglo-Catholic and Romish Churches had been making during that period throughout the colony. The Anglican and Romish Churches had exhausted their respective portions of the sum allotted for the support of religion from the public treasury, and were both crying loudly for more to enable them to build more churches and to settle more priests; but there were considerable unexpended balances of the Presbyterian portion for the years 1848 and 1849, to the extent of upwards of 1000*l.*, which were paid over to the Moderator or Chairman during the year 1850. And what did the good men do with this large balance? Why, in humble imitation of the good example of the Church and School Corporation, they each manufactured a trumpery account for repairs and additions, and they licked the whole up together, as *the ox licketh up the grass of the field*.

As a further proof of the utter incapacity of these men to deal with the exigencies of the times, as well as of the miserable results of the politico-ecclesiastical system which alone preserved them in existence as a body corporate, I may add that, previous to the famous disruption in Scotland, most of them had professed to sympathize with the Free Church at home; but when the tidings of the actual disruption arrived in the colony, they maintained an unbroken silence on the subject for twelve months. At the end of that period they passed a series of Resolutions in the month of October, 1844, expressive of their desire to identify themselves with both Churches in Scotland; desiring, of course, to have all the credit of the one, and all the pelf of the other. I shall leave the late celebrated Dr. Merle D'Aubigné of Geneva to relate the result.

" Some colonial Churches of Australia, having, after much hesitation and wavering between the Establishment and the Free Church, decided at last upon belonging to "both Assemblies :" this resolution was not only repulsed disdainfully by the Established, but received in the Free Assembly, while I was present, with shouts of laughter."—*Germany, England, and Scotland*, p. 172.

Lamartine has somewhere beautifully observed, although, perhaps, with a boldness somewhat bordering upon profanity, that "every truth must have its Calvary ;" in other words, some person or other must be victimized to insure its reception and establishment in the world. Instinctively, therefore, as I shrunk beforehand from the prospect of what these unworthy men actually did towards myself, I was not unwilling to be victimized in any way for the reception and establishment in the Australian colonies of this great truth, that Christianity can support itself in the world without the aid of the State. After demonstrating that it could, by a successful experiment in my own case for four successive years—and these the most calamitous years that had been experienced in the colony ⁸—I proceeded once more to England, in the year 1846, to give an impulse to Protestant emigration to New South Wales, which then included Victoria and Queensland, as I have related at length in the first volume of this work.

To return for one moment to the Presbyterian State Church of Australia, the poet Danto represents Satan himself as a respectable character, in comparison with those angels who affected neutrality, and pretended to stand aloof in the great celestial conflict he describes. It was three years before the so-called Free Church element could venture

⁸ The revenue of the Scots Church, Sydney, under the Voluntary System, during the first year after my renunciation of my salary from the State and of my connexion with the Presbyterian State Church, was upwards of 500*l.*; and during the first year after my return to the colony, in the year 1850, after an absence of nearly four years, it was upwards of 460*l.*, although another congregation had in the meantime been formed from it.

to disengage itself from the entanglements of the State Church in Australia ; and when it did so at length, its amount was contemptible and its influence was gone.

As the act and deed of my *quondam* brethren in pretending to depose me from the Christian ministry had only excited the indignation and derision of the colony, and had actually issued in my election as a member of the Local Parliament again and again, they were naturally anxious to get it ratified and confirmed by the Presbytery of Irvine in Scotland, by which I had been ordained in 1822, before leaving my native country for the first time for New South Wales. The Presbytery of Irvine in 1861 consisted apparently of weak brethren who had got into the Church of Scotland after the famous disruption of 1843, when there was room enough in it, and to spare, for inferior men ; and without any adequate knowledge either of the laws of the Church or of their own duty in the case, they pretended to ratify and confirm the act and deed of my *quondam* brethren in Australia, and thereby virtually to declare me deposed from the Christian Ministry. This, however, I could not allow to pass: so having occasion to visit England in 1861, I attended a meeting of the Presbytery at Irvine, to their great surprise and astonishment, in March or April of that year, telling them that they had acted in gross ignorance of the laws of the Church as well as of their own duty in the case, in pretending to condemn me unheard and without a trial on the mere *ex parte* statement of men at the ends of the earth, whom everybody there only laughed at and ridiculed for their folly and presumption—and demanding immediate redress. This, however, they alleged they could not give without the sanction of the General Assembly, and advised me to take patiently what I had gotten, as I was not likely to obtain what I asked. I thanked them for their advice, but told them I was not disposed to take it, as I meant to follow the example of a higher authority in the Church, viz. the Apostle Paul; for when that Apostle was scourged and

imprisoned, although uncondemned, by the magistrates of Philippi, who when they discovered that they had exceeded their powers, sent an order for his liberation, he refused to leave the prison till the magistrates came and made a humble apology to him for the wrong they had done him. After this example, therefore, I petitioned the General Assembly for redress, stating that although the only way in which I could approach their Venerable Court was in that of a petitioner, I had really nothing to ask for but an act of justice to be done me by their subordinate Court, the Presbytery of Irvine, by which I had been ordained in the year 1822, and which had done me a grievous wrong. I saw plainly, however, that certain of the leading men of the Assembly had been dealt with, in the way of letter-writing against me from the colony; and the result was their determination to get rid of the case at once without inquiry of any kind. A reverend Doctor therefore having moved that the petition be dismissed, and the motion having been seconded by a Scotch baronet, a lay member of the Assembly, it was dismissed accordingly.

I was greatly mortified at this ungracious result of my petition to the General Assembly; but as I found there was still a way of obtaining justice from these unjust men, I immediately instituted an action in the Court of Session, the Supreme Court of Scotland, against the Presbytery of Irvine. It is necessary, it seems, that any person instituting a prosecution of this kind in the Court of Session must have a domicile in Scotland, which it was shrewdly conjectured I could not have as a minister at the Antipodes. But this was quite a mistake; for a cousin of my father's, the proprietor of a valuable hundred-acre farm on the Carron Water, having died in the year 1848, and left me a life-rent in the property, which was to pass at my decease to my eldest son, it was found that I *had* a domicile in Scotland, and the case went on. There was a large muster of clericals assembled in the old Parliament House of

Scotland, where the sittings of the Court of Session are held, when the case came before the Lord Ordinary, or Primary Judge ; and these gentlemen were doubtless all on tiptoe to see the Botany Bay parson whipped out of court. But to their great astonishment and disappointment, the Lord Ordinary decided that I had a grievance to complain of on the part of the Presbytery of Irvine, and therefore a right to prosecute that Reverend Court for redress. This naturally threw the Presbytery into great consternation, and they accordingly besought the General Assembly of 1862 to save them from the threatened prosecution, which the Assembly very considerately did by repealing their own unjust decision of 1861, and authorizing the Presbytery of Irvine to do me the act of justice I demanded, by repealing their own iniquitous decision. It was certainly a very humiliating position for the General Assembly to be placed in, to be compelled to do an act of justice against their will. I question whether there ever was a case of the kind before in the General Assembly since the days of John Knox ; certainly there never was in the person of a colonial minister. In some case a few years ago, in which it was supposed by many that the House of Commons had passed an unjust and unwarrantable measure which the House of Lords negatived, it was said by some political enthusiast, "Thank God we have a House of Lords here in London yet." So to compare great things with small, I had reason in this case to thank God that we had a House of Lords yet—I mean Lords of Session, the famous fifteen—in Edinburgh ; for when I appealed to them, just as Paul did to Cæsar against unjust Jewish priests in Jerusalem, they very soon made the General Assembly lower their flag to the Botany Bay parson.

On renouncing my salary from the Public Treasury, and my connexion with the State Churches of the colony, in the year 1842, I delivered, and afterwards published, three lectures on the politico-ecclesiastical system of the colony

under Sir Richard Bourke's General Church Act ; showing how much better it would be for all parties if that Act should be forthwith repealed and religion left entirely to its own native energies and the Christian benevolence of the people. It was thought at the time that all Protestants unconnected with the four denominations receiving State support—the members of the Church of England, the Presbyterian State Church, the Roman Catholics, and the Wesleyans—would join heartily in an agitation to this effect ; but at a public meeting held in Sydney on the subject, the Free Churchmen refused to take any part in the matter unless it were declared as a fundamental principle, that it was the duty of the State to support religion. I had made no allusion to this subject in my lectures, leaving it an open question, especially as the State was then in New South Wales supporting four religions. The Free Church therefore kept aloof. The Congregationalists also, for what reason I know not, took no interest in the matter, and the agitation was left pretty much to myself. For twenty years, therefore, I maintained that agitation uninterruptedly, delivering lectures and making speeches on platforms on all suitable occasions and in all parts of the colony. At length the leaven that was thus hid in the three measures of meal had insensibly leavened the whole mass of our colonial society ; for in the Session of 1862, Sir Charles Cowper, whose government I cordially supported, introduced into our Colonial Parliament a Bill prohibiting all future grants of money from the Public Treasury for the support of religion, but leaving all who were then in the receipt of salaries from the State, in the enjoyment of these salaries during their lifetime. The measure was carried after long and spirited debates, and the principle of disestablishment was thus enacted in New South Wales long before it was heard of for Ireland.

The following is a list of the different religious denominations of the colony for the year 1872, showing the number

of ministers of these denominations respectively, as also the number of places of worship, of individual sittings, and of the number of attendants at the principal service on Sundays:—

Denomination.	Number of Ministers.	Number of Churches or Chapels.	Total Number of individual Sittings.	Number of attendants at the Principal Service on Sundays.
Church of England— Five Bishops.				
Diocese of Sydney . . .	164	295	52,320	37,019
Diocese of Newcastle . . .				
Diocese of Goulburn . . .				
Diocese of Bathurst . . .				
Diocese of Grafton and Armidale . . .				
Roman Catholic Church— Five Bishops.				
Diocese of Sydney . . .	115	207	28,090	35,514
Diocese of Maitland . . .				
Diocese of Goulburn . . .				
Diocese of Bathurst . . .				
Diocese of Armidale . . .				
Presbyterian Church . . .	72	120	21,818	10,733
Wesleyan Methodist Church— Ministers & Local Preachers	82	241	33,337	19,256
Congregational Church— (Independents) . . .	24	25	10,143	5,985
Baptist Church . . .	14	24	3,480	1,912
Primitive Methodist Church .	15	42	6,200	5,300
Particular Baptist Church .	2	3	930	525
Unitarian Church . . .	2	1	250	110
United Methodist Free Church	3	5	630	184
United Free Gospel Church— Country . . .	1	1	50	25
German Lutheran Church— Country . . .	1	2		80
Independent (Unconnected) Country . . .	1	1		75
Evangelical Lutheran— Country . . .				94
Jew's Synagogue — City of Sydney . . .				330
Christian Israelites—Country				70
General Total . . .				115,212

I should be sorry to allow it to be supposed that the state of things which I have described in the Episcopal Church of the colony, during the incumbency of Bishop Broughton, is still in existence at the present day. Bishop Broughton went to England on ecclesiastical business about twenty or twenty-four years ago, when the Panama route was in operation ; but, having caught the fever of the country on crossing the isthmus in that deadly climate, he died almost immediately after reaching England, and was succeeded by Bishop Barker, the present bishop, who, I am happy to say, is an evangelical minister, and no Puseyite. I believe the majority of his clergy are of the same class in reference to doctrine ; and so also is Bishop Thomas, the Bishop of Goulburn. Bishop Tyrrel, of Newcastle, is a man of independent fortune, and expends his substance for the welfare and advancement of his church and clergy. I once made a passage with him from Grafton to Sydney, and was greatly pleased with the account he gave me of the beneficial influence he was evidently exerting among his clergy. He was one of those bishops who signed the Puseyite manifesto of 1850 ; but I confess I forgot all that for the moment, in recognizing him as a man who had his heart and soul in his work, and who employed his substance in doing good.

The reader will recollect that I reserved from last chapter a matter which, although perhaps coming more properly under the category of education, had a still higher reference to morals and religion.

After the great question of disestablishment had been carried in the Colonial Parliament of 1862, there was a general and strong desire, that the different sections of the Presbyterian Church, which had been long separated from each other solely on the question of Church and State, should be reunited and form one strong and vigorous body. This was at length accomplished in the year 1865, when the Union, which had previously been amicably effected, was ratified

and confirmed by an Act of the Colonial Parliament, incorporating the body and settling the questions of property which the case involved. Anticipating this consummation, I had submitted to Parliament, in 1862, a motion for the establishment of a Presbyterian College under the Affiliated Colleges Act; which, although I disapproved of it in the main, and preferred the American principle, as I have stated above, I thought might be utilized for the establishment of a Divinity School for the Presbyterian Church. After long delays and much opposition in successive Parliaments, the Act for the establishment of St. Andrew's College,⁹ under the Affiliated Colleges Act, was at length finally passed on the 12th December, 1867.

The Act provided that whenever not less than Ten thousand pounds should be raised by the subscribers, and a Council and Principal appointed for its management to the satisfaction of the Governor, the College should be incorporated and be entitled to an equal amount from the public Treasury for the erection of the requisite buildings; together with an allotment of land for that purpose—about ten acres—from the University Reserve, and a salary of 500*l.* a year for the Principal.

It was also provided that the College Council, to be elected by the subscribers, should consist of twelve members, viz. four Presbyterian ministers and eight laymen. And as there had been four different sections of the Presbyterian Church concurring so very shortly before in the union of 1865, it was confidently expected that each of these sections should furnish one of the four clerical members of the Council, and that the lay members should be distributed over the four sections in fair and equitable proportions. The four sections of the Presbyterian Church which had concurred in the union were—

⁹ This was the name given to the institution, contrary to my desire. I had wished it to be called simply the Presbyterian College.

1st. The section representing the Church of Scotland, the largest of the four;

2nd. The Free Church, the second in point of number;

3rd. The Synod of New South Wales, consisting of seven or eight congregations; and,

4th. The United Presbyterians, consisting only of a single congregation; but that congregation having identified itself with the Free Church section, it was thenceforth virtually comprehended in the Free Church.

But by a species of jockeyship on the part of certain Free Churchmen, worthy only of the gentlemen of the Derby, and utterly discreditable to a Christian Church, the result of the election for the College Council showed that there were only two of the twelve members of the Council who were not either Free Churchmen or United Presbyterians, viz. the Hon. John Frazer, now a member of the Legislative Council of the colony, and myself. *When I saw*, a few weeks before the election in November, 1870, that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, to use the very appropriate language of the inspired apostle on a somewhat similar occasion, I wrote to the subscribers generally, apprising them through the press of what was likely to happen in the case; and during the three weeks that elapsed before the election, I had upwards of 320 proxies sent me by subscribers in all parts of the colony, authorizing me to vote on their behalf for such ministers and laymen only as would, in my opinion, do honour as well as good service to our Church. I shall mention only one of the ministers and one of the laymen for whom I voted on these proxies.

The minister was the Rev. Colin McCulloch, who had successively been minister of Denny, of Montrose, and of the East Church in Aberdeen, and was one of the most popular men in the Church of Scotland. His wife, however, having fallen into bad health, was ordered by the Faculty to flee for

her life to a warmer climate, and she had come out accordingly to Queensland. Mr. McCulloch having obtained leave of absence some time thereafter, to come out to Queensland to visit his family, found that his wife had so completely recovered her health that he resolved to remain in the colony, and accordingly gathered a congregation, and got a handsome church erected in the town of Warwick, on the Darling Downs, 2000 feet above the level of the sea. But the sphere being somewhat limited for a man of Mr. McCulloch's standing, he had accepted a call to Sydney, and was settled there for a time. He had set his heart upon being elected one of the four clerical members of the College Council, but was thrown out by the Free Church majority. And for whom was he thus thrown out? Why, for the Rev. James Cameron, A.M., a third or fourth-rate Free Churchman, who was elected as a second clerical member for the Free Church section, to which it had no right whatever; the Church of Scotland section being thus deprived of a member altogether. Mr. McCulloch was so much mortified and disgusted at the insult that was thus offered to the Church he belonged to, as well as to himself, that he embraced the first eligible opportunity of leaving the colony altogether and returning to Queensland, where I had the pleasure of meeting with him in February last, as the minister of the first charge in the city of Brisbane, the pastor of a large and attached congregation.

The only layman I shall mention of those voted for on my proxies was the late Nicol Drysdale Stenhouse, Esq., a solicitor of the highest standing in the colony and a thorough Presbyterian. Mr. Stenhouse was a member of the Senate of the University of Sydney, and was one of the first scholars in the southern hemisphere. He also, like Mr. McCulloch, had set his heart on being elected a member of the College Council, to which two such men would have done the highest honour. But he also was thrown out by the Free Church majority, and for whom?

John Campbell, a potato merchant, but a zealous Free Churchman, who had probably never seen a college in his life. Mr. Stenhouse was exceedingly mortified at the result, and he declared to me at the time that the election had been a regular swindle on the part of three clerical men whom I shall not mention. Whether it was so or not the reader will judge for himself.

But how, it may be asked, has a state of things in which all this was possible, come about? Why, the principal party in the case was the Rev. Dr. Steel, of Sydney, who had, previous to his coming out to the colony, been a Presbyterian minister in some town in England. Now it is not unfrequently an object of ambition for such men to get the title of Doctor, which, however, is not always obtainable from a Scotch University. But there is help at hand in such cases. There is an office in London in which if a graduate of a Scotch University leaves his college tickets, to be transmitted to some German University, he will be admitted by that University *ad eundem*, that is, to the same grade he held in the Scotch University, for the small fee of two or three pounds—I have even been told for thirty shillings. But instead of calling a Bachelor or Master of Arts by that name, the Germans call him a Doctor of Philosophy, a Ph. D. But a Ph. D. title will serve quite as well to furnish out a Doctorship in an English town as any other; but no graduate of a Scotch University who has any respect for himself will condescend to use any such title. Dr. Steel, therefore, having come out to us from the English town with a Ph. D. title,¹ one is somewhat prepared for the Free Church jockeyship he certainly exhibited in connexion with St. Andrew's College.

The jockeyship in question, of which I accused Dr. Steel again and again in the College Council, (*for I withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed,*) consisted in his

¹ Dr. S. has since got a degree from America.

monopolizing for himself and those who were rowing in the same Free Church boat with him, as their proper field of agitation in connexion with the College, an extent of territory—the best part of the territory too—to which they had no right whatever; thereby overreaching and circumventing their brethren, in violation of the grand Scriptural rule of doing to others as we should wish them to do to us. The case was simply one of *undue influence* brought to bear upon an election; as flagrant indeed as that of the Roman Catholic bishops and priests in the famous case of the election for Galway. For the whole twenty-five years of my Parliamentary life I had advocated on every suitable occasion popular election, and especially its freedom and its purity. It was therefore mortifying to me in the extreme to find that in the very Church I belonged to there had thus been a more flagrant violation of the freedom and the purity of popular election than I had ever known before in New South Wales.

The petty arts to which the Free Church clique had recourse to carry their object were utterly contemptible. They had held a hole and corner meeting very shortly before the election of the College Council, at which a ticket, as the Americans call it, was produced and agreed to, containing the names of fit and proper persons, from whom of course mine was carefully excluded, to be voted for at the election; and packets of these tickets were actually forwarded *on the Sabbath morning* for distribution among *the faithful* in those places of worship in which they were expected to be found.

The other three clerical members of the College Council—the Rev. Dr. Steel, the Rev. James Cameron, A.M., and the Rev. Adam Thomson—had contributed to the College altogether one hundred pounds; but my family, including the noble bequest of my late brother-in-law, and the thousand pounds additional of his widow, had contributed not less than 11,140*l.* Such then is Freechurchism in New South Wales!

There is a question of law, however, still awaiting decision in the case, on which the present Chief Justice, Sir James Martin, strongly advised me to appeal to the Privy Council; which I did accordingly before leaving the colony, depositing 200*l.* in the Supreme Court to cover the expenses. The object of that appeal is not, as people suppose, to insure my obtaining any particular office—of which I have no desire under existing circumstances—but to enable me, if successful, to get the 11,000*l.* of the contributions of my family out of the hands of the corps of incapables who now mismanage the College, to be applied to as noble an object by honest men.

Under the title of the State of Morals and Religion in the colony, I cannot allow the following incident, somewhat illustrative as it is of that state, at least in certain quarters, to pass unnoticed. There happened to be a change of ministry in the year 1868, when Earl Belmore was Governor, that had taken place through a vote of mine, which unexpectedly raised the lower or Opposition side of the House to an equality with the other. The Speaker gave his casting vote for the Ministry; but as Lord Belmore declined, as I thought very properly, to grant the Premier, Sir James Martin, now Chief Justice, a dissolution, he resigned office and the Opposition came into power. The new Ministry appointed on the occasion was subjected to all manner of hostile criticism by the former Government and their supporters; and in particular the new Postmaster General, Mr. Daniel Egan, was held up as a most improper appointment, both from his want of education and from his alleged objectionable moral character. In defending the appointments, as I did generally, I admitted that the Postmaster General, although officially a man of letters, was not a literary man; but as to his character in other respects, of which I knew absolutely nothing, I could only say that under a previous and of course unexceptionable government,

I had twice seen the adulterous concubine of a minister of the Crown seated in the place of honour for strangers behind the Speaker's chair,² and I therefore thought Mr. Egan might pass muster as the custodian and distributor of letters for the community. The allusion I had made was perfectly understood in the House, and nothing further was said about Mr. Egan. In a few years thereafter, however, Mr. Egan died ; and as a professed Roman Catholic he was buried in consecrated ground. But whether he had failed to leave the priests a sufficient amount for masses for the repose of his soul in purgatory, or whether they thought that others of "the faithful" could not lie comfortably in their graves beside Mr. Egan, they actually employed people to dig up his coffin and corpse in the night and to bury him, I suppose, in the *Potter's Field for burying strangers in*, of which we read in the case of certain other very respectable priests in Jerusalem. The circumstance created a prodigious sensation throughout the colony, and everybody expected that it would be searched out by the authorities and the offenders subjected to well-merited punishment; but as the Government of the day were in want of Roman Catholic votes for the next General Election, no notice was taken of the affair in the proper quarter ; and the disgraceful outrage still remains unpunished.

I cannot bring this chapter to a close without briefly alluding to the efforts that have hitherto been made, whether on the part of the colonial Government or of the religious public in the mother-country, for the christianization and civilization of the aboriginal inhabitants of New South Wales. Dispersed over the whole extent of the vast con-

² I had no idea who the dame was at the time, and only learned it afterwards ; but I determined to take public notice of the fact on the first favourable opportunity, not only as an offence against common decency, but as an insult to the House itself by one of its own members.

tinental island of Australia, and broken up into innumerable tribes, each inhabiting its own distinct territory and speaking its own barbarous tongue, but all equally ignorant of the very humblest of the arts of civilization—without fixed habitations, without the slightest knowledge of agriculture, without clothing, and almost without mythology or religion—the Aborigines of Australia unquestionably present one of the most striking and at the same time unaccountable phenomena in the history or condition of man. Like a diseased limb amputated from the healthful body of humanity, and thenceforth deriving no well-directed activity from its intelligent head, no warmth and vigour from its beating heart, their existence may be designated a living death, and their continued preservation, perhaps for thirty or forty centuries, in that anomalous state of existence, may be regarded as almost miraculous.

I should be sorry to countenance the prevalent idea, that the Aborigines of Australia are deficient either in intellectual capacity, or in those feelings and affections that proclaim the relationship of their possessor to the white-skinned and highly-favoured aristocracy of man. On the contrary, the facility with which their children acquire the arts of reading and writing, the shrewd observations they are frequently observed to make in the most artless language on men and manners, and the strong parental and conjugal affection they sometimes exhibit sufficiently demonstrate that their intellect, however clouded at present, is nevertheless a latent spark of the same ethereal fire that lights up the understanding of a European philosopher, and that it is still the warm blood of humanity that is circling in their veins.

The Aborigines of New South Wales—of whom there are now only a very few thousands remaining, scattered over a territory as large as that of all Great Britain and France—doubtless suffered deeply for the long period of half a century and upwards, after the original establishment of the

colony, from the transportation system, and from the scenes of dissipation and brutality on the part of the convict population to which its general mismanagement so frequently gave rise. To ask, therefore, why the Aborigines were not civilized under the process of *civilization*, forsooth, to which they were thus subjected for so long a period, and to condemn them to hopeless degradation because they remained obstinately attached to their native habits, is surely unreasonable ; especially when the civilized man, with whom they came the most frequently in contact, was in all probability tenfold more a brute or a savage than themselves. To the man, whose *romantic* love of liberty despairs the confinement of a house and the encumbrance of clothing, the condition of civilization could not surely appear by any means attractive, when it subjected so large a proportion of those who belonged to it to bondage and punishment, and consigned them often to the lowest depths of social degradation.

The first attempt to educate and civilize the Aborigines of Australia was made at the instance of Governor Macquarie, who formed an Institution for the purpose, which was placed for a time under the charge of a missionary from the South Sea Islands at Black Town on the Richmond Road. A subordinate branch of this Institution was subsequently formed at Castle Hill, near Parramatta ; but both branch and root speedily declined, and the Institution became extinct shortly after the departure of Governor Macquarie. A mission to the Aborigines, which, however, proved very short-lived, was undertaken by the Wesleyan Methodists in the year 1821, during the government of Sir Thomas Brisbane; and in the year 1824, Messrs. Tyerman and Bennett, a deputation from the London Missionary Society, who had been visiting the missions in the South Seas, undertook a similar mission on behalf of that Society, at Lake Macquarie, on the coast to the northward of Broken Bay; but the great cost of this mission, and the peculiarly

unpromising character of the field, very speedily induced the Society to abandon it; and it fell for a time under the management of the Local Government, which retained the missionary in charge for a few years longer at a Government salary of 150*l.* a year. In the mean time a mission had been undertaken to the Aborigines at Wellington Valley, in the Western Interior, under the auspices of Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop Broughton.

Great encouragement having been held forth for the establishment of missions to the Aborigines during the period in which Lord Glenelg held the seals of office as Secretary of State for the Colonies, I was enabled, during my visit to England in the year 1836, to make the requisite arrangements for the establishment of an extensive mission to the black natives at Moreton Bay. This mission consisted of twelve missionaries (including two regularly ordained ministers of religion), eight of whom were married and four single. The lay-brethren had all been under previous training in a missionary institution in Berlin, under the superintendence of the late Rev. Johannes Gossner, originally an Austrian Roman Catholic priest, but for many years thereafter a zealous Protestant and pastor of the Bohemian Church in the city of Berlin. This mission was located on the "brook Kidron," about seven miles from the town of Brisbane, Moreton Bay.

About the same period a second Wesleyan mission was undertaken to the Aborigines in the district of Port Phillip, now Victoria, where the new principle on which the mission was to be conducted was announced at the time as a great discovery in the management of such missions, and certain to issue in complete success; the missionary in charge having attached himself exclusively to a single tribe of the Aborigines, which he endeavoured to isolate, as much as possible, from all the rest.

It is lamentable, however, to be obliged to acknowledge

that all these efforts, including one of a more recent date on the part of the Roman Catholic communion, have hitherto proved abortive; there being as yet no well-authenticated case of the conversion of a black native to Christianity.³ The new principle at Port Phillip proved equally unsatisfactory with those in previous operation; and the Romish mission, which consisted of Italian monks, and which had been introduced to the colony with great promises and pretensions, was speedily broken up.

In this state of things, after having made a tour of personal inspection to the different missions throughout the territory, His Excellency, Governor Sir George Gipps, recommended to Lord Stanley, who had in the meantime succeeded Lord Glenelg, the entire withdrawal of the Government support they were then receiving; and Lord Stanley concurring in the idea of the utter hopelessness of the undertaking, that support was consequently discontinued, and the missions to the Aborigines were abandoned.⁴

³ It is alleged that there have been such cases within the last few years, at a Mission Station in Gippsland, under the charge of a German Missionary in the service of the Presbyterian Church in Victoria.

⁴ The following is the concluding paragraph of Lord Stanley's despatch on the occasion, of date December 20th, 1842. It is highly creditable to his lordship:—

"I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing my sense of the importance of the subject of it, and my hope that your experience may enable you to suggest some general plan by which we may acquit ourselves of the obligations which we owe towards this helpless race of beings. I should not, without the most extreme reluctance, admit that nothing can be done—that with respect to them alone the doctrines of Christianity must be inoperative, and the advantages of civilization incommunicable. I cannot acquiesce in the theory that they are incapable of improvement, and their extinction before the advance of the white settler is a necessity which it is impossible to control. I recommend them to your protection and favourable consideration with the greatest earnestness, but at the

In these circumstances, one of the two ordained German missionaries became a missionary under the London Missionary Society in the Samoan or Navigators' Islands, in the South Pacific, where he died a few years since; but the lay-brethren remained at the original settlement, earning a livelihood for themselves and their families from the cultivation of the ground and the produce of a herd of cattle they possessed in common, and exercising a salutary influence in the neighbourhood, for many years thereafter, by their Christian example.

same time with perfect confidence, and I assure you that I shall be willing and anxious to co-operate with you in any arrangement for their civilization which may hold out a fair prospect of success.

"STANLEY."

CHAPTER XIII.

MAIL COMMUNICATION WITH ENGLAND, BY WAY OF SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK ; WITH NOTICES OF THE ROUTE.

PREVIOUS to the successful establishment of steam communication with England by the Red Sea, through the zealous but ill-requited labours of the late Lieutenant Waghorn, R.N., postal communication between the mother country and the Australian colonies was effected exclusively, although with sufficient uncertainty and irregularity, by means of sailing vessels. I myself have known a period of ten weeks to elapse between two arrivals from London. On that occasion I recollect when the yellow flag which then announced a vessel in sight from the light-house, was pulled down and the blue flag which proclaimed that she had got within the Heads was hoisted, almost the whole population of Sydney speedily assembled on the heights around the harbour to welcome the coming stranger, and to express their gratification that we had not been entirely forgotten by the Old World.

For some time Steam postal communication with England was managed by the Isthmus of Panama, for which the colony was pledged, at the instance of the present premier, who was then a private member of the Legislative Assembly, to contribute towards the object not less than 50,000*l.* a year. I voted for the measure on the occasion, although with some misgiving ; for I felt assured that it would never lead to emigration from America, as was expected and alleged at the time. But the Panama Company broke down, after

a short period of trial, for want of funds: and it was doubtless fortunate for the colony that it did so, for the climate of the Isthmus, and especially of the town of Isabella on the Atlantic side, is one of the deadliest in the world. Short as the time was that the line was in operation, a considerable number of the passengers both to and from the colony caught the fever of the country in crossing the Isthmus and died. I have already mentioned the case of Bishop Broughton, who caught the fever on his way to England and died shortly after his arrival there; and a Presbyterian minister caught the same fever on his passage out and died on his way across the Pacific to Sydney.

When the Peninsular and Oriental Company's line, however, by the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea to Calcutta and other ports in India had been successfully established, a contract was made with that Company by the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria¹ for the establishment of a subsidiary line between Point de Galle in Ceylon, at which the Company's India steamers touched on both routes, and the Australian ports; and this line had been in successful operation, to the great benefit of all concerned, for—if I am not mistaken—about fourteen years in the year 1873. The course both to and fro was a monthly one, the steamer from Sydney, which was the point of departure, touching at Melbourne and then at King George's Sound in Western Australia, or the Swan River colony; from whence it proceeded to Point de Galle, where its passengers were transferred to the India steamer for England; the route from thence being to Aden and Suez and by railway to Alexandria in Egypt, the steamer touching, on the way to Southampton, the English terminus, at Malta and Gibraltar in the Mediterranean. I made the passage to England once

¹ I think rather the contract was made with the Peninsular and Oriental Company by the Imperial Government on behalf of these colonies.

myself by this route—in 1860 and 1861—and can therefore speak from personal experience and observation. One remarkable circumstance I may mention on this route was that we had snow on the coast range of mountains between the Red Sea and Mount Sinai, and a fall of rain at Suez. It was early in February, however, the depth of winter in the northern hemisphere. The return voyage for the Australian branch was from Point de Galle to King George's Sound, Melbourne and Sydney, where the mail-steamer was usually docked for any needful repairs—taking in coals in the meantime for her next voyage, and remaining in harbour during the rest of the month. By this arrangement Melbourne was the first point of arrival from England, and the last for departure to London, while the steamer, by proceeding to Sydney, where there was every needful accommodation for docking and coaling, accomplished all this within the month.

The contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Company terminated on the 31st of December, 1873; and in prospect of the change of some kind that was anticipated on this event, in the postal arrangements of the colonies generally, the Hon. Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, succeeded in getting a conference held in Sydney, in the month of February, 1873, consisting of delegates from all the colonies in the Australasian group, to confer on the subject, and to make such arrangements in the matter as would bring all the colonies of the group into harmonious action, and so lessen the expense of postal communication to all. The delegates were from New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, and New Zealand.

But Victoria had, in the meantime, got a dock at Melbourne—a noble one I admit, and worthy of a great colony—a thing which she had never had before; and like a little girl with a new doll, she must not only get everybody to see

admire it, but she must also have the monthly mail-steamer from England, instead of going on to Sydney as before, with her goods and passengers, to get coal for her return voyage—where alone she could get that indispensable commodity—she must have the monthly-mail steamer detained in the new dock as a raree-show for the people of Melbourne to gaze at for a month; thereby subjecting all concerned to the unnecessary inconvenience and expense of hiring a subsidiary steamer to carry the passengers and goods, by the mail-ship for New South Wales and Queensland to Sydney, and additional vessels hired to carry coals from Sydney to the mail-steamer in the new dock at Melbourne. In short, the Victorians insisted on getting the arrangement for our Postal communication, so wisely and so beneficially provided by the Great Author of Nature, set aside and discontinued, for the gratification of their own self-conceit and silly vanity.

But there was another object in view in proposing such an arrangement as the one put forth by Victoria at the Conference in Sydney. It was to get Victoria recognized and acknowledged, especially by New South Wales, as the first and Metropolitan colony of the Australian group. This, indeed, was admitted as the real object in the case, by a fussy little gentleman who took a prominent part in the discussion, in a speech on the subject, the Hon. Mr. Langton, colonial treasurer of Victoria. And I believe he actually spoke the sentiments of the whole community of Victoria on the subject.

Now we, the people of New South Wales, have all along been so confident of our position as the first and metropolitan colony of the Australian group, of which that of Victoria is a mere expansion, without a history of any kind, that we have never had any doubt on the subject. Have we not a harbour unsurpassed by any in the known world? And is not our commanding position on the Pacific incomparably

superior to that of Melbourne, with her look-out upon Bass' Straits and the great Southern Ocean? Scientific men of the highest standing in Victoria, have again and again declared their belief and conviction that we have as much gold in our territory as there either is or has ever been in Victoria; but we have never had more than a third of the number of miners that there has always been in Victoria to dig for it. Why? Why just because we have a whole host of our miners employed in digging up a still more valuable mineral, I mean coal; Victoria being fortunately relieved of all that grievance, from having none to dig for. Nay, we have never even complained of Victoria taking credit for the production of 41 per cent. of our wool, merely because it passes through her territory to the port of Melbourne for shipment. And so long as a considerable military force was maintained in the Australian colonies, we never complained of Melbourne being the head-quarters for the major-general, because it was a more central point for the actual population at the time. Besides, from what I have stated above as to our artificial productions, it will be evident that we shall very soon be able to supply Victoria with sugar enough to sweeten her tea. I hope it will sweeten her temper also, and cure her of the delusion of fancying herself the metropolitan colony of the Australian group. No doubt the population of Victoria is considerably larger than ours as yet. But to what is that owing? Why, to our having been subjected, as I have shown in Chapter IV. of this volume, through the wretchedest government imaginable, both imperial and colonial, to the curse of squatterdom for twenty years past. Had the men who so grievously misgoverned our noble colony at that period only kept their larcenous hands off the property of the nation, and left us our legitimate source of increase in immigration, the population of New South Wales would long ere now have greatly exceeded that of Victoria, and the latter colony would never have presumed to set

herself up as the metropolitan colony of the Australian group.²

To return to the Conference on Ocean Mail Communication with England. The main question submitted to the conference was whether Melbourne should or should not be the terminus of the mail steam communication with England. New South Wales, although with a very considerably smaller population, had nevertheless offered to contribute an equal amount with Victoria for a new contract, if the arrangement then subsisting should be continued and Sydney maintained as the terminus of the line. But the Victorian delegates had threatened the other minor colonies to withdraw from the contract altogether, if Melbourne was not

² Mr. Anthony Trollope accuses the people of Victoria of being peculiarly addicted to what the colonists call *blowing*, or of always speaking of themselves in the superlative degree, as compared with other portions of the creation : and certainly they do blow very strongly. In waiting a few days in Melbourne for a steamer for New Zealand in August, 1873, I happened to take up a copy of the "Argus," the principal paper of the colony, and in a leading article of that paper I found the writer informing the public that as the principal states of Europe had based their legislation on the Code Justinian, so it was evident to any person of discernment that the States of the modern world, I presume the world south of the Line, were all looking to Victoria to take the lead in all matters of legislation. Now I do not recollect of a single instance, in which the colony of New South Wales has either followed the leadership of Victoria or looked to that colony as its guide. It has certainly not done so in the matter of protection, that peculiarly Victorian principle and practice ; for New South Wales has abolished every shred of protection in repealing all *ad valorem* duties from the 1st of January, 1874. Neither did it set us the example in the matter of Free Selection, which has almost revolutionized our colony for the better. It did not set us the example either in the adoption of manhood suffrage and the ballot, or in the repeal of the law of primogeniture, which I carried successfully through Parliament myself. It did not even set us the example of the abolition of those discreditable exhibitions, public executions, in which even the mother country has followed our leading.

made the terminus, and the question therefore was not decided on its merits at all. The result is stated in the following telegram :—

TELEGRAM FROM THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, NEW SOUTH WALES, TO
THE AGENT-GENERAL, LONDON.

“ Sydney, 17th Feb., 1873.

“The Conference closed at noon, on Friday, the 14th. It was decided, by nine to four, that the terminus of the Galle Service be at Melbourne. The question was subsequently reopened, when the first decision was confirmed by seven to five. Western Australia and South Australia voted avowedly because Victoria had privately threatened to withdraw from the contract unless Melbourne was made the terminus. There is reason to believe that New Zealand voted with Victoria on an understanding that Victoria would assist her in obtaining an Imperial subsidy to Webb's line of American steamers. It is admitted by several members of the majority that the question was not decided on its merits. The Representatives of New South Wales have lodged a lengthy protest against the decision. This Parliament will be immediately asked to adopt a remonstrance to the Secretary of State, and it is not probable that New South Wales will contribute to the Service if this decision be confirmed. Urge upon Lord Kimberley delay until the arrival of full particulars by the mail early in April. The P. and O. Company will doubtless continue Service for six months or other period if the Secretary of State makes that request.”

A further telegram was transmitted through his Excellency the Governor, of date, 22nd February, 1873.

“ Ministers in this Colony desire to communicate to the Secretary of State, that Addresses to Her Majesty, unanimously adopted by both Houses of Parliament, against Melbourne being the terminus of the Suez Mail Service, go to England by the mail of to-day. These Addresses represent the views of the whole population. Ministers send their own views in Minute transmitted by His Excellency the Governor, and they rely with confidence on no decision being given by Her Majesty's Government until the arrival of the mail in April with full reports of the proceedings of the late Conference and of Parliament.

HENRY PARKES.”

In the meantime Victoria, assuming—on the mere vote of

the Conference, that Melbourne should be the terminus of the line—the position of the Metropolitan colony of the group, and the right to prescribe terms to all the others, formed a private and exclusive (may I not rather say underhand and clandestine) contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Company to carry the Mails to Melbourne as the future terminus for 90,000*l.* a year, for which Victoria became solely responsible. That contract was, I think most improperly, ratified and confirmed by Lord Kimberley, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, without consulting either New South Wales or any of the other colonies on the subject, and refusing even a delay of six months, which the New South Wales Ministry had solicited.

The Victorian Ministry now conceived that they had accomplished their coveted object, that they had succeeded in getting their colony recognized as the Metropolitan colony of the Australian group, and that they had actually got their foot upon the neck of New South Wales, and could oblige that colony to submit to their terms. In this, however, they were mistaken and disappointed. The public of New South Wales were extremely indignant at the conduct of Victoria throughout the whole matter, and pledged themselves to support their Government by giving up all connexion with Victoria and the Suez line, and to establish another and independent line for themselves, which the Government did accordingly by establishing the line by San Francisco and New York.

The refusal of Lord Kimberley to grant a delay even of six months in these circumstances greatly increased the difficulties of the situation ; for it was scarcely possible to get suitable steamers to commence the new service in December, 1873, on the termination of the former contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Company.

The suddenness and the secrecy of the exclusive contract which the Victorian Ministry had made with the Peninsular .

and Oriental Company, the immediate ratification and confirmation of that contract by the Imperial Government *without the slightest reference to New South Wales*, and the refusal of Lord Kimberley to grant a delay, even of six months from the termination of the then existing contract, presented enormous difficulty to the New South Wales Ministry, especially as the last year of the existing contract was then far gone. The whole proceeding seemed as if it had been planned and designed to leave that colony no alternative in the case, but to shut it up to the necessity of complying with the imperious and humiliating terms of the Victorian Ministry. The following are the telegrams and extracts of letters that passed on the occasion :—

TELEGRAM FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY, VICTORIA, TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

"Melbourne, June 4th, 1873.

"This Government has made a provisional agreement with the Peninsular and Oriental Company for carriage of mails between Galle and Melbourne, calling at King George's Sound, and at Glenelg if desired, for seven (7) years, at ninety thousand (90,000) pounds per annum. We are anxious that all the other colonies should share in the advantage of this contract, and are prepared to carry out the arrangement as to Branch Services and distribution of costs entered into at the Conference. I shall be glad of a reply at your earliest convenience.

EXTRACT OF LETTER IN REPLY FROM THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, NEW SOUTH WALES, TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY, VICTORIA.

"Colonial Secretary's Office,

"Sydney, June 10th, 1873.

"SIR,—I have to thank you for your telegram of the 4th instant informing this Government that the Government of Victoria 'has made a provisional agreement with the Peninsular and Oriental Company for carriage of mails between Galle and Melbourne, calling at King George's Sound and at Glenelg if desired, for seven (7) years, at ninety thousand (90,000) pounds per annum,' and expressing your anxiety to carry out the arrangement of the late Conference as to Branch Services and distribution of cost in order that all the other colonies may share in the advantages of the new contract. . . .



"In conveying to you my acknowledgment of your courtesy in expressing your anxiety to extend to this colony the advantages of the new Service, it is my duty at the same time, on the part of this Government, to decline your offer. "I have, &c.,

"HENRY PARKES."

TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO HIS EXCELLENCY
THE GOVERNOR.

"London, June 18th, 1873.

"Her Majesty's Government cannot extend duration of present Service. No delay will arise in transmitting New South Wales and Queensland correspondence *via* Galle—Victorian Government having contracted for Service between Galle and Melbourne, and would arrange for conveyance of mails to other Colonies."

TELEGRAM FROM NEW SOUTH WALES MINISTRY TO SECRETARY OF
STATE.

"Ministers desire to inform Secretary of State that the Government of New South Wales and Queensland cannot be parties to the Mail Contract made by Government of Victoria."

In short the whole affair was a piece of jockeyship on the part of the Victorian Ministry, precisely similar to that of the Free Church party in Sydney, in monopolizing the election of councillors for St. Andrew's College. And if the grand rule of our common Christianity, that we should do to others as we should wish them to do to us, is applicable to all political arrangements, as well as to all popular election, whether in Church or State, that rule was grossly violated in both cases.

But the New South Wales Ministry, backed and supported as they were by the whole colony, were not unequal to the great difficulties of the situation. They immediately gave the necessary directions by telegraph, for the building of four iron steamers of the requisite description and dimensions for the transmission of the mail and passengers to and fro between Sydney and San Francisco ; resolving to get the best steamers they could for the purpose till these vessels should be ready, and anticipating the termination of the then existing contract by despatching their f-

steamer to San Francisco in December, 1873. I may add that the whole cost of the transmission of the mail to and fro between San Francisco and London, as well as between Point de Galle and London, is borne by the Imperial Government, so that the colony or colonies undertaking the rest of the service by San Francisco have only to provide for the passage to and fro across the Pacific.

In the mean time the Hon. Saul Samuel, Postmaster General of New South Wales, having been deputed by his Government to proceed to New Zealand, London, and Washington, to complete the necessary arrangements for the mail service, an agreement was made for New Zealand to join with New South Wales in the organization and support of the Pacific service ; the through steamer for San Francisco to leave Sydney the one month, and Dunedin, the southernmost port of New Zealand, the other. The calling place for both colonies was to be Kandavu in the Fiji Islands ; and each of the two colonies was to have a branch steamer to carry passengers and goods to the through steamer every alternate month.

Having resolved to undertake another voyage to England myself, chiefly for the publication of this work, I embarked for San Francisco on board the mail steamship "Cyphrenes," in Port Jackson, on the 11th of April, 1873, and shall now give a short sketch of the route, with such observations as may be suggested on the voyage; for as there are great differences of opinion on the subject, and parties deeply interested in misrepresenting the facts of the case, it may not be uninteresting to the reader, whether he intends to make the passage by California or not, to have the opinion of a disinterested person who has travelled by both routes on the subject. Sailing from Sydney therefore on Saturday the 11th of April, 1873, we reached our first place of call, the island of Kandavu,³ the south-easternmost of the Fijian group,

³ The accent is on the second syllable.

after a pleasant voyage, in the morning of Monday, the 20th of April. The harbour, or rather roadstead of Kandavu is formed by a reef running parallel to the line of coast for about four miles. It is not quite certain as yet whether Kandavu will be the permanent place of call for the mail steamers touching at the Fijis; for Commodore Goodenough, who has been for some time on that station, has given it as his opinion that Levuka, the capital of the Fiji Islands and the seat of Government, would be quite as safe for the purpose as Kandavu; but mercantile men seem to have a different opinion. It would doubtless be greatly more desirable that Levuka should be made the calling place, but Insurance Companies have opinions of their own on such subjects which must be respected.

We found, on our arrival in Kandavu, the branch mail steamer "Mongol," from New Zealand, with fifty-four additional saloon passengers for San Francisco; but as our vessel from Sydney was quite full, it had been arranged beforehand that we should wait there for the arrival of the mail steamer "Mikado," from San Francisco, which was much larger than either of the other two, and that we should all proceed by that vessel to San Francisco, while the "Cyphrenes" should go on to New Zealand, and the "Mongol" to Sydney. The "Mikado" arrived accordingly on the third day of our stay in Kandavu; and as the "Cyphrenes" had carried out a full cargo of coal from Sydney for the San Francisco steamer in anticipation of these arrangements, several days were occupied in transferring the coal from the "Cyphrenes" to the "Mikado," and the cargo from San Francisco for Sydney and New Zealand to the "Mongol" and the "Cyphrenes."

There was another steamer in Kandavu Harbour while we were there, besides the three I have mentioned—the "Macgregor," the first that had been placed upon the line. But as the harbour was not surveyed at the time, in conse-

quence of the necessarily imperfect state of all the arrangements at the first, she had struck upon the only rock or reef in the harbour, and sunk shortly thereafter, having been severely damaged. She had subsequently been raised, however, and been patched up in an imperfect way to proceed to Sydney for repairs; the "Cyphrenes" supplying her with coals for the purpose. She still admitted, however, a large quantity of water, which had to be pumped up by her engines every ten or fifteen minutes. She had originally been built with water-tight compartments; but it was deemed desirable to fill the compartment into which the water still leaked with something lighter than water to occupy its place. So it was happily suggested to fill it with cocoanuts, which were abundant on the island, and lighter than water. This process, therefore, was going on during our stay; the officers of the ship making arrangements with certain of the subordinate chiefs, who employed their people in collecting cocoanuts from all parts of the island at the rate of twenty-two shillings per thousand. Seventy thousand cocoanuts were therefore stowed away in the leaky compartment of the vessel, which it was expected would sell at a good profit in Sydney. The "Macgregor," I am happy to say, arrived safely in Sydney.

All this necessarily led to a considerable and unexpected detention in Kandavu; the passengers by the "Cyphrenes" having been detained there eight days, and those by the "Mongol" nine or ten. Much dissatisfaction was consequently felt and expressed by various passengers, which was only increased when we found the "Mikado" so overcrowded as she was with so large a number of passengers from the "Mongol" and the Cyphrenes." One gentleman, who had held rather a high official appointment in New Zealand, was particularly loud on the occasion, alleging that the Government of New South Wales ought never to have started the line till they had had the steamers they are

getting built for the purpose all ready to start, and threatening that he would make a regular complaint on the subject to the authorities of New Zealand, and get the agreement they had made with New South Wales set aside and discontinued.

I told the gentleman in reply that all the difficulties that had been experienced in the case had resulted from the wonderful and unexpected success of the line. Who, I asked, could ever have expected that we should have had so many passengers as we have had hitherto, imperfect as all the arrangements necessarily are? The "Tartar," as I had learned, the second steamer of the San Francisco line, had actually had half her passengers from Victoria, and we had ourselves a whole list from all the other colonies of the group.

As to the allegation that our Government of New South Wales ought to have deferred the carrying out of the line till suitable steamers had been built and actually placed upon it, this would have been merely playing into the hands of the Victorian Ministry, from which we had experienced so much injustice already, and only strengthened them in their position.

Kandavu is a beautiful island about thirty miles long, with a mountain at its western extremity 2000 feet high. Around one of the points in the harbour, although it may be blowing pretty fresh and raising a considerable sea in the roadstead, you get all at once into smooth water, and a series of beautiful Highland lakes, with magnificent tropical vegetation on the hills all round. The island is exceedingly fertile, and the natives, who are estimated at about ten thousand, have all the necessaries of life in great abundance. Their only clothing, men and women alike, is a piece of calico wound round their loins. The principal chief's wife, however, had a gown, but no shoes. They are a very inoffensive, good-natured people, very f

bartering their implements, war-clubs, shells, or produce, either for money or for anything European, the only coin they have any idea of being *a silling*.

The Fijians are evidently of two different races of men—the copper-coloured, and the black or Papuan negro race. The natives of Kandavu are copper-coloured.

The Wesleyan Missionaries deserve the very highest credit for what they have done and are still doing among these people. They have translated the New Testament into the Fijian language, and taught many of them to read and write. They have erected places of worship—very suitable buildings for the purpose, whitewashed within and without, with mats on the floor on which the natives squat, as they use no chairs or benches. They attend divine service in these buildings, and are taught to remember the Sabbath day. For although there were hundreds of natives on board our ship during all the week, there were none on the Sabbath.

At the instance of certain of the European residents on the island, Her Majesty's Government have annexed the Fiji Islands, and constituted them a British colony. I consider this a piece of very questionable policy indeed. Had it been done about fifteen years ago, when it was petitioned for by the native chiefs—good and well; but to delay it till the natives had, in hopelessness of anything of the kind, set up a government of their own under a native king, with European functionaries to assist him—to do it then I say was altogether unwarrantable. I have since visited another group of islands, in the North Pacific, the Sandwich, or Hawaiian Islands. They have a native king there, David Kaiakoula by name, and a native Parliament, in which I heard speeches from the native members that would not have discredited any colonial legislature, translated as they were into English, sentence by sentence, by a sworn interpreter. Why something like this might not have been realized in Fiji also

I know not. Thakombau, the Fiji king, a professed Christian, was, from all I have heard, possessed by nature of as good an intellect, and as correct a judgment as Kaiakoula. But does any person suppose that a state of things like that now in Hawaii will ever be permitted to exist in an English colony? I think not.

Since I made my voyage across the Pacific, one of the chartered steamers on the line has met with a dangerous accident, which in other circumstances might have been a case of shipwreck with great loss of life. The ship had run upon a reef or sand-bank, on which she lay for about forty-eight hours, the captain having had to throw a large quantity of coals overboard to lighten the vessel. She floated at length, and underwent no particular damage, but the circumstance has since been put forth as an argument against the California line altogether. But if it is true, as the agent of the line in Sydney alleges, that the captain of the vessel in question passed the Fiji Islands to the westward, instead of to the eastward, according to his instructions, the blame in the case is not to be attached to the line, but to the captain.

We passed so far to the eastward of all the Fiji Islands on my voyage to San Francisco in the "Mikado," that we sighted the Samoa or Navigators' Islands, an important group, which, I was happy to learn from the captain, is so much on the route to San Francisco, that they could be touched at both to and fro, and included within the Mail Company's line with perfect facility. It has been alleged for some time, but has recently been contradicted, that Prince Bismarck proposed to colonize this group. Why should he not?

There is another group, in the Western Pacific, which the Germans might colonize with great facility, as well as with great benefit to their country. I mean the New Hebrides, discovered by Captain Cook, and including the noble island of Espiritu Santo, discovered nearly three cen-

turies ago by Fernando de Quiros, and supposed by him to be part of a large continent, which he proposed to conquer for the King of Spain.

In the year 1846, on one of my voyages to Europe, I wrote a pamphlet strongly recommending the planting of a German colony in the island of New Caledonia, which was then unoccupied, and of which I pointed out the peculiar eligibility for the purpose, with everything that was known of it up to that period. I corresponded on the subject in 1847 with the late Chevalier Bunsen, who was then Prussian Ambassador in London, recommending the subject to the Prussians, who were then emigrating in great numbers, and with large capital, to the United States, where they were at once absorbed in a foreign nation, losing their language and their laws, and their peculiar national institutions, all of which they might there preserve. But his Excellency, who sent me a very kind reply, told me that it was a principle of the Prussian Government neither to promote nor to hinder emigration, but recommended me to apply to one of the Hanse Towns, Hamburg, Bremen, or Lubeck. But the so-called German Empire having come into an ephemeral existence shortly thereafter, in the revolutionary year of 1848, and having established a department for emigration and colonization, I got my pamphlet translated into German by a German Lutheran clergyman, a friend of mine in London, under the title "Eine Deutsche Colonie in das Stille Meer" (A German colony in the Pacific), which was printed in Leipsic, and of which a copy was sent to every member of the Ephemeral Parliament. The Empire having soon come to nothing—nothing more was heard of the matter; but I have always thought that the late Emperor Louis Napoleon had got a copy of my pamphlet before he settled New Caledonia as a colony of France.

To the northward of the Samoan Islands we sighted

another island, very seldom seen, discovered by Don Fernando de Quiros, and called by him *Ilha de Gente Hermosa*, island of the beautiful people. The island itself is very beautiful. We saw the houses of its inhabitants, but nothing of themselves.

Having by this time got into west longitude, and thus completed the circumnavigation of the globe, we cancelled a day, repeating Monday twice over. I had done so seven times before, in so many voyages to England, by Cape Horn, each implying the circumnavigation of the globe.

Our next stopping-place was Honolulu, in the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands; arriving there on Sunday morning, the 11th May, and sailing again on Monday at five p.m.

I had corresponded occasionally for twenty-five years before with the Rev. Dr. Damon, a highly respected minister in Honolulu, whom, however, I had never seen. Having heard, somehow, that I was likely to be a passenger to England by that month's mail, he was down on the wharf with his buggy on our arrival, and drove my party—my daughter, her aunt, and myself—up to his house in the town, and paid us much attention during our short stay. The town of Honolulu is finely situated on a considerable extent of level ground, between the mountains behind it and the sea. The streets are at right angles, and there is much ornamental wood and shrubbery throughout the town. The buildings, chiefly of wood, are of a respectable but unassuming character.

I had to officiate for Dr. Damon in the morning, and for another American minister in the evening (the white population of the place being almost exclusively American); but in the afternoon Dr. D. carried us to the native church, of which the pastor, the Rev. Mr. Parker, is the son of one of the earlier missionaries from the United States, who was born in the island, which he has never been out of, and who speaks both Hawaiian and English with equal fluency.

The church, which was built originally by and for the natives exclusively, is a large square building of stone—blocks of coral rock—with a tower and spire, and a gallery supported on pillars all round; having a pew for the king, with a canopy overhead, and curtains shutting it in when required. The church would easily contain a congregation of 2000 persons, which, I was told, it often did at a former period; but the native population is unfortunately dying off very rapidly, and is now much smaller than it once was. There was, however, a native congregation of four or five hundred present, although the afternoon service was not the principal one. Being requested by Mr. Parker to address the congregation, I did so—in English, of course—Mr. Parker interpreting what I said, sentence by sentence, in Hawaiian. I gave them some account of our Australian colonies and their Christian institutions, as also of those of New Zealand, which I had then recently visited; concluding with an expression of kindly feelings towards themselves and of gratulations on all I saw and heard in their good town. They were evidently much interested in my address; for at the close of the service about a hundred of them came forward to shake hands with me, and to bid me God speed. They were all in European attire, some of the ladies, however, being barefooted; but that is nothing very strange in Honolulu. I had visited the Sabbath schools of the church, both male and female, with Dr. Damon, in the morning, and was greatly pleased with all I saw and heard. Indeed, of all sights in the civilized world, not excluding even Niagara itself, which I saw shortly thereafter, there is none so interesting as that of a congregation of Christian people, whose forefathers were all, within the memory of man, idolaters and savages.

The king, David Kaiakoula, is a native of the islands, and was educated in the United States. He is a highly intelligent man, and speaks English fluently with an

American accent. He takes great interest in our colonial world, and reads our colonial papers; being well acquainted by report with our more prominent men. I was not unknown to him even myself; for as I was occupied all the Sunday of our visit, and he had to go off early on Monday morning to visit one of the other islands on official business in a steamer, he sent me a message by the captain of our vessel expressing his regret that he should not have it in his power to send his chamberlain to conduct me up to his palace. He takes great interest in promoting the successful establishment of our California Mail Steam Line.

The Parliament House for the kingdom of Hawaii—a highly creditable building for the purpose, of cut stone, erected chiefly by Scotch mechanics from the colonies, one of whom happened to be a member of my own congregation—had been recently completed, and been opened by the king in a speech from the throne a few weeks before our arrival. I was somewhat amused at seeing in it a recommendation for an appropriation for immigration.

The late king Lunalilo had been requested, when dying, to nominate a successor; but he declined doing so, and referred the matter to the Parliament, by which he had been chosen himself. Queen Emma, the relict of the last of the Kamehameha family, had a small but zealous party in her favour, who recorded six votes for her; but Kaiakoula having thirty-nine was elected king. There was some disturbance on the occasion; but with the assistance of a British man-of-war in the harbour, it was soon put down. My party did ourselves the honour of paying our respects to Queen Emma along with Mrs. Damon, and were cordially received.

Now why might we not have had something like all this under King Thakombau in Fiji, as well as under King Kaiakoula in Hawaii? There was no intellectual inferiority on the part of the Fijian, as compared with the Hawaiian man. All that was required was the same nurture and

development in the one case as there had been in the other. Republicans as they are, it was by Americans that the kingdom of Hawaii was nursed in its infancy, and gradually established and maintained—*because they saw it was the wish as well as the interest of the people.* But we English—*nous autres Anglais*—are the most exclusive and intolerant people in our dealings with inferior races of men on the face of the earth. But the Fijians, I shall be told, signed away their birthright themselves—of course they did, and knew perfectly what they were doing!

The usual allowance, in point of time, for the voyage from Sydney to San Francisco is thirty days, the passage from Honolulu to San Francisco being nine days; but in consequence of our detention at the Fiji Islands, our voyage was about eight days longer than the proper period. It was like a summer excursion on a lake, however, throughout—a good deal of head-wind, and at times pretty fresh, but nothing like a gale all the way. The Pacific is not always so peaceful, I must confess; but my previous experience of it was all far south. There is a rumour that New Zealand, which had agreed at first to make common cause with New South Wales in the support of the Californian line, has since withdrawn from that agreement. I should not wonder at this, considering the difficulties of the case in the first instance, and the loud complaints that have been made about it for the reasons I have stated above. But, I repeat it, it was the wonderful and unexpected success of the line in attracting to it so many passengers from all the Australian colonies, including Victoria, that occasioned these difficulties; which, however, will all soon cease and be forgotten, when the line gets properly established.

Besides, the Californian route is so much more suitable and beneficial for New Zealand than it is even for New South Wales, that there can be no doubt whatever, that if the New Zealand Government has actually withdrawn from

the Californian line, it can only be for a time, till the line gets fairly established. At all events, whenever that very desirable consummation is realized, the line will unquestionably attract a large number of passengers from New Zealand, whether the Government patronizes it or not. The first place of call in the Fiji Islands is only four days' sail from Auckland, the northernmost of the New Zealand cities, while the passage thither can always be effected by steamers along the coast from Dunedin, Canterbury, Wellington, and Napier. On the other hand, the voyage from Dunedin to Melbourne, as I recently experienced myself, is over as stormy a sea as there is in the world.

It had been a matter of controversy before I left Sydney, whether such a rate of speed as the Government contemplated for the California line, viz. twelve miles an hour, could possibly be obtained. The only answer I shall require to give to this question is our *log* by the steam-ship "Republic," of the White Star Line, from New York to Liverpool. It is as follows:—

First day, 6th June, 1874, 300 miles.

Second	,	333	,
Third	,	351	,
Fourth	,	365	,
Fifth	,	378	,
Sixth	,	355	,
Seventh	,	302	with strong head-wind.
Eighth	,	250	wind foul and much stronger.

Ninth day, touched at Cork and reached Liverpool on the 16th June.

Now, if all this can be done in the Atlantic, why not in the Pacific? Can as noble a vessel as the "Republic," of the White Star Line, not be got for the Pacific as well as for the Atlantic? And have we not as good coal, and as much of

it, in our Newcastle as others have in theirs? "But," said one of the merchant princes of the White Star Line, whom we had as a fellow-passenger from New York, and with whom I had some conversation on the subject on board, "it is all a matter of expense, and your colonies won't stand that." "Indeed," I replied, "we shall soon be able to settle that point." The gentleman in question had been in Australia about twenty years since, and as a member of a firm which was deriving its profits from emigration to America, as well as from trade with that country, he was evidently strongly prejudiced against our colonies generally, and regarded them as very insignificant affairs indeed, in comparison with that great continent. "Why," he said, "you have had no emigration to Australia to speak of for eighteen years past." I admitted the fact, but did not think it necessary at the time to state the reasons for it. I think, however, I have done so since, in the fourth chapter of this volume.

San Francisco is a great city, and a wonderful mart of commerce and haven of ships; but it would be altogether out of place to give a description of it in this work. One thing I did not like in it—living so much in hotels as the Americans do. This, indeed, is quite an American institution. God made the family; but Jonathan has made the hotel, and I do not think it an improvement.

The fare for a first-class passage by the San Francisco line from Sydney to Liverpool is 81*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Pullman's Sleeping-Cars, which are a necessity of the case on the railway across the Rocky Mountains, and a very great accommodation, are paid for extra, and so is all hotel accommodation by the way. An additional charge of 4*l.* enables the passenger to diverge from the direct route to New York and to visit the Falls of Niagara, Lake Ontario, the Thousand Isles on the St. Lawrence River, and the cities of Toronto and Montreal, and to return to the Lake Champlain. The trains stop for twenty minutes

hotels by the way along the whole route, three times a day, for breakfast, dinner or lunch, and tea, each of which meals costs a dollar. I was pleased to find, on crossing into our own territory, in Canada, that the charge was only half a dollar, with everything quite as good. The railway across the mountains was much better than I had anticipated—as smooth and as well managed as any in England. And the sleeping-cars are an admirable institution.

After spending two days in San Francisco, a considerable number of the passengers per the "Mikado" from Sydney and New Zealand started by the railway from the terminus at Oaklands, crossing the bay in a steamer from San Francisco, on Saturday, the 23rd May, at seven a.m. There is much fine land, and in excellent cultivation, in the low country along the route to the city of Sacramento, and for a long way beyond it. At length we ascend the mountains by easy gradients, and rise gradually and insensibly to the higher levels. Our first stopping-place was Ogden, about 880 miles from San Francisco, which we reached on Monday morning. Here we left the train for a day to visit the Salt Lake City, the city of the Mormons. It is distant about thirty miles from Ogden, and there is a fine railway, the property of Brigham Young and his associates, the whole distance. We reached the Salt Lake City about noon, and took up our quarters at a respectable hotel kept by a Mormon, one of the officers of the *Church*. Salt Lake City is from three to four thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is situated on a plateau between two mountain ranges; patches of snow being still visible in the clefts of the mountains towards the end of May. Salt Lake City is quite a model town, and one cannot help feeling indignant on comparing it with those monuments of imperial neglect and misgovernment, our colonial towns, as, for instance, the city of Sydney. The streets of the Salt Lake City are wide and spacious, crossing each other at right angles, with

a row of trees—acacias in blossom at the period of our visit—at the extremity of the *pavé* on each side, and a run of water brought down for the purpose from the mountains along the principal streets. The population of the Salt Lake City is estimated at 20,000; but more than half of that population, I was assured, consists of Gentiles, as the Mormons call all people that are not Mormons. There are churches for various religious denominations in the city; the only two I happened to see, being both in one of the principal streets, were a Presbyterian church, and a Roman Catholic. They were both very creditable brick buildings, each having a tower and spire.

One of our objects in visiting the place was to see the Mormon Tabernacle, the other was to see and to have some conversation with Brigham Young. Brigham was absent from the city, visiting one of his out-settlements, on the day of our visit; and it was not to be known till between five and six, whether he would return on that day at all. We therefore embraced the opportunity of inspecting the tabernacle, which we got the janitor to show us for a voluntary gratuity of a quarter of a dollar each.

The Mormon Tabernacle is an immense building for a place of professed worship. It is in the form of an ellipse, 250 feet long, and 100 feet wide, and is capable of accommodating with ease 13,000 persons. The janitor told us, indeed, that on a recent occasion it had contained 15,000. It has a gallery all round, supported on pillars, and is sixty-eight feet high within. It has a trussed roof, without any visible support from within, and resembling, when seen from without, as a lady of our party very ~~had~~ observed, an immense dish-cover. It is very closely like a Nonconformist or Methodist chapel, of the time, in England, without ornament or embellishment of any kind, the pews being all of American pine. The organ, the third largest, we were told, in the

to ascertain the acoustic properties of the building, I asked the janitor, when standing in the preacher's or reader's desk, in front of the organ, and in one of the foci of the ellipse, to utter a sentence, while I occupied the other focus in the opposite gallery ; which he did at once, repeating the text, *Except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* I heard him quite distinctly, and then, standing where I was, I pronounced the doxology, *Praise God from whom all blessings flow, &c.,* which the janitor said he heard quite distinctly also. Wishing at the same time to ascertain what the volume of sound might be which such an organ emitted in such a building, one of the ladies of our party played a few staves on the instrument, which scarcely, however, gave us a proper idea of its full effect, as we were told it required three or four men at the bellows to bring out the music fully.

Besides the Tabernacle, the Mormons are erecting, on the same plot of ground, what they call a temple, of which we saw the plan, and which we were told would take eight years in building. What purpose it is intended to serve in the Mormon economy I could not ascertain. The material of which it is erecting is granite, from the neighbouring mountains, of a somewhat lighter colour than the Aberdeen granite. How the necessary funds can be supplied for the erection of such buildings is a question easily answered; for each member of the Mormon community has to pay a tenth of his means and substance to the *Church*, an imposition against which some of their corps are now rebelling.

When we had finished our inspection of the tabernacle and the future temple, we were told by the passenger agent for our ship, who had arranged the meeting, that Brigham Young had returned to town, and that we could see him at his office. We went thither accordingly, there being about twelve or fifteen of our passengers, both male and female ; and Brigham who received us very politely and asked us to

be seated, being attended by a few of the principal men of his community, whose titles I forget. We then entered into a general conversation, Brigham and his chief associates expressing their great gratification at the successful establishment of our California Mail Line, and welcoming us to their country. In answer to our questions, we were informed that their settlement at Salt Lake had been formed in 1846 and 1847, that the country was very little known at the time, and that it did not then belong to the United States at all, but to Mexico; that the number of their community was estimated at 130,000; that so long as they had the country all to themselves they had no jails, and no need of them; that their converts were not falling off of late, as we had been told was the case, but that the number from Scandinavia was as five to one now, compared with those from England. In the course of the conversation that ensued, I observed that, "independently of all moral and religious considerations, to which I would not advert more particularly, the planting of a city and state in that part of America at the time in which it was accomplished, considering the vast distance from the civilized world, and the very formidable obstacles of every kind that intervened, was, in my opinion, one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of man, and undoubtedly exhibited an amount of intelligent foresight and indomitable perseverance that had never been surpassed." Brigham evidently took this as a compliment to himself and their community. It was well merited, at all events, and to use the language of the proverb, "we should give even the devil his due." When writing the names of some of our party in the Visitors' Book, Brigham asked me my age, which I told him was 74; he then told us his was 73. He is a good-looking man and bears his age well. The Salt Lake papers said he was not unlike myself.

Many years ago, when emissaries from the Salt Lak

were in New South Wales recruiting for the Mormon Settlement, I delivered a series of lectures in Sydney on Mormonism, showing its anti-scriptural and immoral character, and the utter absurdity of its pretensions as a Divine Revelation. But I had no desire, even if I had had the time, to discuss the matter with Brigham Young. I regarded both his tabernacle and himself exactly as I would a Mahometan mosque and its mufti. Unquestionably, however, he is a very remarkable man—one of the most remarkable men of the age, or that has appeared in the world since the days of Mahomet, whom he somewhat resembles. And that is the very ground of the hope I entertain of the speedy extinction of Mormonism. It will not long survive Brigham Young. He will have no successor, and the house he has built on the sand will fall in due time. It is said that he is one of the largest stockholders in the Bank of England; and he has much private property both in and around Salt Lake City. I had almost forgotten to state that only a point or corner of the Lake from which it takes its name is near the city.

Early next morning, after a day very agreeably spent in Salt Lake City, we returned by the railway to Ogden; and getting into the train for that day from San Francisco, we pushed on for our destination. The country we had been traversing on the route is called the American Desert, the portion of it towards San Francisco being exactly similar to the desert between Suez and Cairo, which I traversed by the railway across the isthmus in the month of February, 1861. It looks just as if it had risen out of the sea a few days before—no vegetation of any kind. The country improves, however, as we proceed, and the patches of cultivation around some of the hotels on the route show what it might become in the hands of an industrious population. The soil is strongly alkaline, and in summer and autumn it blows along the line in clouds of dust; but we were fortunately too early in the year for that benefit.

About 120 miles from Ogden there is a board stuck on a tree on the line, with the notice *The thousand mile tree*. It is exactly a thousand miles from San Francisco, and the same distance from Omaha, a rising town on the line to which we were now rapidly advancing. The route for a long distance on this part of it follows the course of the Weber River, a rapid mountain stream which the line crosses and recrosses repeatedly. The country is mountainous and much broken on both sides. The highest point on the line is Sherman, a rising town, 8240 feet above the sea level. Omaha, two thousand miles from San Francisco, is a very promising town, situated on the Platte River, one of the greater secondary streams of the immense river system of America. We directed our baggage from Omaha to New York, where we found it on our arrival, in order to take advantage of our extra ticket for Canada. Our next stopping-place was the great city of Chicago, where we had proposed to stay for a day; but finding that by going on by the night train we should reach Niagara on the Saturday evening thereafter, which I greatly preferred doing, we hired a carriage and drove about the city of Chicago for about four hours, as we had reached it early in the day; this, we thought, being quite sufficient for our purpose.

Chicago is a wonderful place, considering the great fire of so recent a date—miles of streets, with handsome buildings for all purposes on both sides, and many of them five or six stories high, and its population more than doubled since the fire. The great secret of its wonderful success is its situation; being situated at the head of Lake Michigan, one of the great lakes of North America, which connects it with all the others, Lake Erie, Lake Huron, Lake Superior, Lake Ontario, as well as with the St. Lawrence River and the Atlantic. Then, on the other hand, it is connected by a canal with the Illinois River, which empties itself into the Mississippi, and thereby connects it with all the mighty

water system of the west. The very first place we visited was the Waterworks, for the supply of the city. The land towards the lake being low, the drainage of the city into the lake was a matter of difficulty, while it polluted the water for domestic purposes. But some long-headed American conceived and realized the unheard-of idea of constructing a well—so to call it—for the supply of the city by pipes two miles out in the lake, and far beyond the polluting influences of the drainage of the city. The water-works for accomplishing this object, and transmitting the water to all parts of the city, are on the most magnificent scale imaginable ; but it is unnecessary to describe them particularly.

Starting from Chicago by the night train, and going to bed in Pullman's Sleeping-Cars, and passing through a whole series of American towns on the line next day—Detroit, Port Erie, Buffalo, &c.—we reached the great Falls of Niagara in the evening of Saturday, the 30th of May, after it had got dark, and took up our quarters in the Clifton House, an hotel for the accommodation of travellers to the Falls in summer and autumn, but always closed for the rest of the year. It had only been opened for the season three days before our arrival, and we were therefore among the first visitors for this year. My bedroom in the hotel was right opposite the Falls. I was lulled asleep with their loud and ceaseless music during the night, and in the morning, on opening my window-blinds, I beheld the magnificent phenomenon ; returning again and again to contemplate and admire the wonderful scene till I left the place. But as everybody has heard or read of the Falls of Niagara, I shall not add another to the ten thousand descriptions of them that have been already given to the public. While our fellow-passengers, however, were forming plans at breakfast on the Sunday morning for excursions during the day to all the remarkable sights and scenes in the

neighbourhood, I carried my little party across the Niagara River, by the noble suspension bridge that spans it, to the American side to give thanks in some church of our communion, which I felt sure we should find in the American city, for our safe passage across the Rocky Mountains. We soon found one in the American city or town of Niagara—a stone-built church of a highly creditable appearance, with a tower and spire, the interior being handsomely fitted up, as is general in American places of worship, and the congregation large and respectable. At the close of the service I introduced myself to the pastor, as a brother minister from the ends of the earth, who asked me to officiate for him in the evening, which I did accordingly to a large congregation.

On the following day, the 1st of June, we passed down along the Niagara River by train to Lake Ontario, a distance of about seven miles; embarking on board a Canadian steamer for Toronto, which we reached in due time. Passing from thence by the night train to Kingston, we embarked again there at five a. m., on board another Canadian steamer for Montreal; passing as we did, in splendid weather, through the very interesting and beautiful scenery of the Thousand Isles of the St. Lawrence River.

Montreal, as seen from the St. Lawrence, is a beautiful city; *Mont Real* (Mount Royal), the mountain that gives it its name, and on the slopes of which the houses of the merchant aristocracy of the place are built, looking down, as it were, upon the city below. Canada having been a French colony, when conquered by General Wolfe, the Roman Catholic establishment of the country was guaranteed to be preserved and maintained by the British Government. There is therefore a sufficient amount of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical buildings of all kinds in the city, with the usual complement of "priests, eremites, and friars." But the various Protestant denominations of the city seem

to vie with each other and with the Romish hierarchy in their ecclesiastical buildings. The humbler and labouring classes of the population are all French Canadians and Roman Catholics. They are usually called *habitans*.

Our extra ticket would have taken us to see the beautiful scenery of Lake Champlain, but as we were afraid that if we took that route so early in the season we might not reach New York in time for the steamer for Liverpool on the sixth; and as we wished also to spend a day or two in the Empire City of the United States, we took the afternoon train from Montreal on the 3rd, and reached New York on the morning of the 4th of June, and Liverpool, the terminus of our San Francisco Mail Line, by the noble steam-ship "Republic" on the 16th.

I cannot conclude this chapter without observing how very tame the scenery is along the whole line across the Rocky Mountains of America. We may indeed have passed much fine scenery when asleep in the Fullman's cars; but I do not think we did from what we saw during the day. At all events, we saw no scenery on the Rocky Mountain route to compare with that of the Blue Mountains, as viewed from the railway line, in Australia. And as to one particular feat, which the Americans make much of, I mean the ascent of Cape Horn—a mountain on the western side, the doubling of which by a circuitous ascent had probably suggested the name—I appealed to a highly intelligent lady from Queensland as to whether there was anything in it at all equal to the magnificent scenery on the route from Ipswich to Toowoomba in that colony, and she entirely agreed with me that there was not. Such, then, has been my experience of the California Mail Line.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE AUSTRALIAN FUTURE.

"Methinks I see in my mind a great and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks ; methinks I see her as an eagle renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam ; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about amazed at what she means."—MILTON.

THERE is no doubt that this brilliant dream of the poet will one day be realized in Australia, but never certainly till the whole of the present group of Australian colonies is formed into one great and independent nation. Now as I was the only member of the Parliament of New South Wales who for twenty-five years uniformly advocated the right of the people of England to the waste lands of Australia, it will not be supposed that I can have any unfriendly feelings towards the mother country ; but I hold it to be the law of nature and the ordinance of God that colonies that have reached their majority, like those of Australia, should, as early as possible, become an independent nation ; that it is the duty of the mother country to take the initiative in placing them in such a position ; and that it is the interest alike of the mother country and the colonies that they should occupy that position as early as possible. I yield to no man in the British Empire in the feeling of honor and respect I entertain for Her Majesty the Queen.

that of cordial attachment to my native land, and to all that is really valuable and praiseworthy in her institutions. At the same time, as a British colonist of fifty years' standing—as a tribune of the people of New South Wales by their own appointment again and again—I maintain that entire freedom and national independence is a sacred, inherent, and indefeasible right, to which my fellow-colonists are entitled by the law of nature and the ordinance of God, and which our mother country has no right whatever to withhold.

There is the grossest ignorance, on the part of the people of England of all classes, on the subject of colonies generally. For example, there is no political maxim more widely or more willingly received in England than that colonies can be governed from London quite as well as on the spot—by the autocrat, for the time being, of all the colonies in Downing Street, as by the colonists themselves. What, however, is the judgment of enlightened reason on the subject? “Dependence upon a distant Government,” says the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1853, in answer to this question, “seems to us a great, an unceasing, an inevitable evil. It may in a certain state of a given community be outweighed or compensated by counter advantages; but a dependency must, from the necessity of the case, be to a certain extent ill governed. The evils of political parties (provided their dissensions do not end in despotism or civil war) are, in our judgment, trifling indeed, as compared with the evils of dependence on the decision of persons living at a distance of thousands of miles, belonging to a different political community, and imperfectly informed as to the state and circumstances of the dependency.”¹

¹ To give only two instances of the calamitous results of such a situation of dependence on a distant authority, take the Squatting Act of Earl Grey in 1846, with the Orders in Council appended to it, on the recommendation of the Emigration and Land Commissioners;

"The Greeks," says Professor Heeren, of Göttingen, "had no idea of a commonwealth which did not govern itself." And the famous Grotius maintains that "a colony is a new people that grows up in independence—*Novus populus sui juris nascitur.*"

There is a charm and a moral power in the very idea of nationality that demonstrates alike its divine original and the beneficence of its design. It nerves the arm of the patriot, and renders him irresistible. It is a moral instinct omnipotent for good, and it cannot possibly have been implanted in the breast of man for evil. But how is it possible for us, the colonists of New South Wales, to cherish such a feeling when our best interests are in the hands of some person in brief authority at the ends of the earth—like Lord Kimberley, for instance, who acts upon his own crotchet in the famous postal question, and treats our noble colony with contempt?

"So great are the disadvantages of dependencies," says the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis, "that it is in general fortunate for a civilized country to be sufficiently powerful to have an independent government and to be ruled by natives."³

Then, as to the matter of profit or loss to the mother

—it was a perfect combination of injustice on the one hand, and of ignorance and presumption on the other, and absolutely ruinous in so far to the best interests of the colony. The other instance I would mention is that of handing over the entire management of the waste lands of the colony to the squatters, who had then the virtual dictatorship of the country, by the late Duke of Newcastle and Sir John Pakington. This fatal measure has virtually stopped emigration to New South Wales for twenty years past, reducing the colony almost to a third-rate position in the group, and depriving the mother country of millions of money that would otherwise have been available for the promotion of the emigration of myriads of her own humbler people to Australia.

³ "Essay on the Government of Dependencies," London: 1841.
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country, involved in the acquisition of their entire freedom and independence by a colony or group of colonies, let the testimony of the late Lord Macaulay suffice on the subject:—

“England was never so rich, so great, so formidable to foreign powers, so absolutely mistress of the sea, as since the loss of her American colonies.”³

There is certainly no likelihood at present of a federation of the Australian colonies; and the recent assumption and injustice of our sister colony of Victoria in the postal question is sure to postpone that very desirable consummation indefinitely. But the subject of the relations of the colonies generally to the mother country is one that ought unquestionably to engage the serious attention of men of intelligence and position in the mother country. Now I have observed in the speeches of various Members of Parliament to their constituents, when engaged in preparing this work for the press, that it is very generally anticipated that a fierce struggle of the future is impending in Europe; and does any person suppose in looking at the history of the past that Great Britain will in such an event maintain a state of uninterrupted peace with all the world? Surely not. But if Great Britain should be engaged in a war with any of the great powers of the world, our Australian colonies would be the first point of attack for her enemies—not from any quarrel with us, but simply and solely from our political connexion with the mother country. She would doubtless defend us, I shall be told, with her ships of war and her troops in such circumstances. But we do not require her defence. Let her keep her fleets and armies to defend her own coasts. With freedom and independence we should have no enemies to fear.⁴

³ *Essays*, ii. 61.

⁴ The reader will find these ideas wrought out at length in the Author's work already referred to, “The Coming Event; or, Free-

But whether as a series of colonies, or a great nation of the future, the hope of Australia unquestionably consists in her being colonized as extensively as possible by a thoroughly British population. During the reign of Squatterdom in New South Wales, the grand object of these gentlemen was to have the colony maintained as a convict colony, that they might have the cheap labour of convicts for their flocks and herds ; but when this very desirable object was happily frustrated, they directed their efforts to get the colony occupied, as extensively as possible, with Coolies and Chinamen ; so that in one of the earlier election contests in which I was somewhat mixed up in the North, the main question was whether we were to accept as our motto the three C's—Convicts, Coolies, and Chinamen. But without any feeling or antipathy to foreigners of any European nation, and regarding it as the worst possible policy to place any obstacle whatever in the way of their settlement in the Australian colonies in any capacity, I confess my hopes in regard to the moral, social, and political advancement of the Australian communities, and the high and influential position which, I conceive, they are destined to occupy at no distant period on the theatre of the world, are based entirely upon the supposition and condition of their having, as much as possible, a thoroughly British population.

But how this grand national object is to be accomplished, now that Squatterdom has robbed us of the grand source of a thoroughly British population for our colony in the waste lands of Australia, I confess I know not.

It is completely in the power of Great Britain, by acting on the advice of Mr. Huskisson and the Earl of Ellenborough many years since in reference to Canada—advice

dom and Independence for the Seven United Provinces of Australia." Sampson Low and Co., London : 1870.

of which Lord Brougham expressed his approval, and Earl Granville was ready to carry into effect in all our large groups of colonies—by giving them their freedom and independence if they chose—it is completely in the power of Great Britain to give birth, in the Southern Pacific, to the only Power out of Europe that is ever likely to prove either an equipoise or a rival to the formidable Republic of the West. This idea may perhaps be deemed a piece of folly ; but I speak it in the soberest earnest. For, with a General Government for the United Provinces of Australia, New Zealand would probably annex herself to the great Australasian Union, and New Guinea, which is close at hand, and at least double the extent and value of all the British West India Islands, could immediately be occupied also ; while various groups of islands in the Western Pacific could be colonized successively and added to the Union.⁵ In one word, the United Provinces of Australasia would, in far less than half a century from the present time, form an Empire that would fearlessly contest the palm with Jonathan himself ; and Young Australia would be able to hold up her head among the nations with no blush of shame upon her cheek in the presence of the virtuous and the free. In short, as we are so near the first meridian in Australia and New Zealand as to be almost equally accessible from the eastward as from the westward—for we are actually the “Far West” in California—I think we may adopt for Australia, with a slight change of numerals merely, the beautiful lines which the celebrated Bishop Berkeley applied, upwards of a century ago, to America ;⁶ not knowing

⁵ “No great empire,” says Mirabeau, “can be well governed but by a division into small confederating States.”—*Correspondance entre le Comte de Mirabeau et le Comte De la March, &c., &c.* Par M. Ad. de Bacourt, &c. Paris, 1850.

⁶ *Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America,* Bishop Berkeley.

that there was still another Empire of British origin to arise in the world much farther west :—

“ Westward the course of empire takes its way ;
The first *five*⁷ acts already past,
A *sixth* shall close the drama with the day :
Time's noblest offspring is the last.”

Besides, the moral influence which such a Power would exert in the Far East would be salutary in the highest degree to suffering and oppressed humanity in those regions of the world. The beautiful islands of the Indian Archipelago—the richest and the most diversified in their productions on the face of the earth, and containing not fewer than forty millions of inhabitants—have for three centuries past been under Dutch domination, and are at this moment in a far less hopeful condition than when the Hollanders first found them. They would very soon, however, rise from their deep degradation under the influence of Free and Independent Australia, with her fleet of Propellers constantly steaming to and fro, in their immediate neighbourhood ; and whole groups of islands would, in all probability, be found ere long petitioning for annexation to the Great Eastern Union. Questions of this kind could be much more easily settled on the spot than either in the Hague or in London ; and the successor of Lord Palmerston would be saved a mountain of protocols, and a world of

⁷ Bishop Berkeley's numbers, which I have taken the liberty to change, are *fourth* and *fifth* respectively. We Australians are certainly a later offspring of Time than our elder brother Jonathan ; although I scarcely think we shall prove a nobler. In short, we bid as fair for a vast and lasting empire as any country in the world ; and we are too far off to quarrel with anybody in the Northern Hemisphere. We have as good a right at all events to appropriate the famous prediction of the poet, as either ancient Rome or modern America :—

“ His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono :
Imperium sine fine dedi.”

VIRG. *Aeneas*

trouble. Besides, the commerce of these islands alone would, under a system of freedom, open up a new world for British trade ; for it ought to be borne in mind by the people, and especially the merchants and shipowners of Britain, that Australia is not likely to compete with them, like the United States of America, either in foreign trade or in shipping. It will be far more profitable for Young Australia to confine herself to her own coasting trade, to be conducted chiefly by steam navigation, and to the raising of raw produce for the European market ; leaving the carrying trade with Europe, as at present, in the hands of the British merchant. At all events, the intelligent reader will perceive that there is a boundless field for the establishment of as mighty an empire of the future in the Far East, as that even of the United States in the Far West ; and there is nothing wanting to realize the great idea but Freedom and Independence, on equitable, and honourable, and highly advantageous conditions to Great Britain, for the United Provinces of Australasia.

A P P E N D I C E S.

APPENDIX I.

Page 24.

DESCRIPTION OF AN EXTRAORDINARY NATURAL CAVERN AT BURRAN-GILONG, IN THE INTERIOR OF AUSTRALIA.

AN extraordinary natural excavation, the result of aqueous agency, has recently been discovered at Burran-Gilong Creek, in the district of Bathurst, by Mr. W. D. Davidson, assistant-surveyor. Of this magnificent cavern or tunnel, as it has been called, the following are extracts from a description by G. Wright, Esq.:—

“The Burran-Gilong Creek, receiving the waters from the numberless neighbouring mountains, and these waters accumulating in the Glen, and there ‘cabin’d, cribb’d, confined,’ have won or burst an outlet through the rock, and thus created one of the largest tunnels in the world.

“You enter at the north, the tunnel having a serpentine direction to the south, and the first sublime object to rivet your gaze is the magnificent span of the grand entrance arch, with the lofty roof receding into the dim distance scooped into ten thousand cells, and fretted and festooned with stalactites of every species and form—the hard white, and the white shattery stalactites, and the yellow, the pale pink, and the green crystalline stalactites—some oblong and conical—some round and irregular, twisted, and turned into all imaginable fantastic diversities; griffins, and rampant lions, dead sheep, trussed fowls, somewhat green and yellow (perhaps from hanging too long), and sceptres, and swords, and switches.”

"The lower series of excavations extends about 120 yards in length, for sixty of which the visitor can walk erect, and, for sixty more, can crawl. These excavations terminate in a magnificent hall of transparent alabaster, 12 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 10 feet high.

"The span of the southern arch is described as still grander than that of the northern, and the stalactitic ornaments of the south-eastern gallery as still more gorgeous, imposing, and fantastic than that already described.

"The dimensions of the tunnel, for which I am indebted to Mr. Davidson, are as follows:—

	Ft. In.
The length from the northern arch, or entrance, to the southern arch, or exit (measured)	720 0
The breadth of the northern arch, or entrance (measured)	130 0
The pitch of the northern arch (measured)	55 0
From pitch to summit of rock (measured)	17 0
Extreme height at centre of tunnel (not measured) about	100 0
The breadth of southern arch, or exit (measured)	117 0
Where the space of the arch extends and is prolonged, in the south-eastern gallery (not measured) but about	200 0
Pitch of the southern arch, or exit (measured)	72 0
From pitch to summit of rock (measured)	100 0

"Compare these dimensions with those of Fingal's celebrated basaltic cave at Staffa:—

	Ft. In.
The length from the farthest of the basalt pillars in the cave, which from the shore form a canal to the cave, 121 feet 6 inches: from the commencement of the vault to the end of the cave, 250 feet	371 6
The breadth of its entrance	53 7
Of the interior	20 0
The height of the vault at the entrance of the cave	117 6
Of ditto at the interior end	70 0

"The roof of the cave of Okey Hole, on the south side of Mendip (the most famous among the natural caverns or grottoes of England), is, in its highest part, only forty-eight feet, but in many particular places it is so low that a man must stoop to get along. The breadth is not less various than the height, for in some places it is from five and twenty to thirty feet wide, and in others not more than one or two feet.

"It thus appears that the extent and height of the Burran-Gilong tunnel is beyond comparison greater than either of these celebrated

places. There are parts greatly resembling the Wellington caves; but in size and magnificence there is about the same proportion as between a parish church and Westminster Abbey, or a poet's garret and Windsor Castle."—*Colonial Observer*, 1843.

APPENDIX II.

Page 32.

TABLE SHOWING THE PROPORTIONS OF DISEASES OF ALL KINDS THAT TERMINATED FATALLY IN SYDNEY IN 1872.

CLASS I.—ZYMOTIC DISEASES.

Order 1.—Miasmatic Diseases—Scarlatina, Measles, Diphtheria, Dysentery, Fevers, &c..	19.09
2.—Enthetic Diseases—Syphilis, Gonorrhœa, &c.	0.36
3.—Dietetic Diseases—Privation, Scurvy, Delirium Tremens, &c.	1.29
4.—Parasitic Diseases—Thrush, Worms, &c.	0.29
	21.03

CLASS II.—CONSTITUTIONAL.

Order 1.—Diathetic Diseases—Gout, Dropsy, Cancer, &c.	4.09
2.—Tubercular Diseases—Scrofula, Phthisis, Hydrocephalus, &c.	9.52
	13.61

CLASS III.—LOCAL.

Order 1.—Nervous—Apoplexy, Paralysis, Insanity, Convulsions, Cephalitis, Brain Disease, &c.	15.33
2.—Circulation—Pericarditis, Aneurism, Heart Disease, &c.	5.01
3.—Respiratory—Bronchitis, Pneumonitis, Asthma, Pleurisy, &c.	9.35
4.—Digestive—Gastritis, Enteritis, Peritonitis, Hernia, &c.	6.81
5.—Urinary—Nephritis, Ischuria, Diabetes, &c.	1.42
6.—Generation—Ovarian Dropsy, Uterus Disease, &c.	0.47
7.—Joints—Arthritis, Ostitis, Periostitis, &c.	0.12
8.—Integumentary—Phlegmon, Ulcer, Skin Disease, &c.	0.23
	38.44

CLASS IV.—DEVELOPMENTAL.

Order 1.—Children—Cyanosis, Spina Bifida, Teething, &c. .	5·06
2.—Adults, Paramenia, Childbirth, &c.	0·49
3.—Old People—Old Age, &c.	5·54
4.—Nutrition—Atrophy, Debility	6·25
	17·34

CLASS V.—VIOLENCE.

Order 1.—Accident or Negligence—Fractures, Contusions, Burns, Drowning, Suffocation, Wounds, &c.	7·91
2.—Wounds in Battle—Gunshot Wounds, Sword, Bayonet, or other Wounds	
3.—Homicide—Murder and Manslaughter	0·27
4.—Suicide—Poison, Drowning, Hanging, &c.	0·55
5.—Execution—Hanging	0·07
	8·80
Unspecified	0·78

APPENDIX III.

Page 41.

TABLE SHOWING THE MEAN NUMBER OF DEATHS IN SYDNEY, IN EACH MONTH, FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS, WITH A METEOROLOGICAL ABSTRACT FOR THE SAME PERIOD.

Period.	No. of Deaths.	Mean Temperature.	Rain.	
			Depth.	Days.
January	146	71·3	4·24	13
February	129	70·7	5·51	14
March	144	68·7	7·13	15
April	142	64·8	6·07	12
May	148	58·5	5·25	15
June	131	54·8	5·99	12
July	132	52·6	3·00	9
August	122	54·2	2·38	9
September	114	58·6	1·65	9
October	126	63·3	2·80	12
November	141	66·5	3·05	11
December	172	69·6	2·32	11
Mean of Twelve Months	137	62·7	4·11	11

APPENDIX IV.

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CISTERNS AND RESERVOIRS OF ANCIENT PALESTINE, FROM THE TRAVELS
OF PROFESSOR ROBINSON AND THE REV. ELI SMITH OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOLY LAND.

Cisterns.—The main dependence of Jerusalem for water at the present day is on its cisterns; and this has probably always been the case. I have already spoken of the immense cisterns now and anciently existing within the area of the temple, supplied partly from rain-water, and partly by the aqueduct. These of themselves, in case of a siege, would furnish a tolerable supply. But in addition to these, almost every private house in Jerusalem, of any size, is understood to have at least one or more cisterns, excavated in the soft limestone rock on which the city is built. The house of Mr Lanneau (a missionary from the American Presbyterian Church) in which we resided, had no less than four cisterns; and as these are but a specimen of the manner in which all the better class of houses are supplied, I subjoin here their dimensions.

I.	15 ft. by 8 and 12 ft. deep, containing .	1440 cubic feet.
II.	8 do. 4 and 15, &c.	480 do.
III.	10 do. 10 and 15, &c.	1500 do.
IV.	30 do. 30 and 20, &c.	18,000 do.
		21,420 feet,

or upwards of 128,520 gallons, Imperial Measure.

The cisterns have usually merely a round opening at the top, sometimes built up with stonework above, and furnished with a curb and a wheel for a bucket; so that they have externally much the appearance of an ordinary well. The water is conducted into them from the roofs of the houses during the rainy season; and, with proper care, remains pure and sweet during the whole summer and autumn. In this manner most of the larger houses and the public buildings are supplied. The Latin convent, in particular, is said to be amply furnished; and in seasons of drought is able to deal out a sufficiency for all the Christian inhabitants of the city.

Most of these cisterns have undoubtedly come down from ancient times; and their immense extent furnishes a full solution of the questions as to the supply of water for the city. Under the disadvantages of its position in this respect, Jerusalem must necessarily

have always been dependent on its cisterns ; and a city which annually laid in its supply for seven or eight months, could never be overtaken by a want of water during a siege. Nor is this a trait peculiar to the holy city ; for the case is the same throughout all the hill-country of Judah and Benjamin. Fountains and streams are few as compared with Europe and America, and the inhabitants therefore collect water during the rainy season in tanks and cisterns in the cities, in the fields and along the high roads, for the sustenance of themselves and their flocks and herds, and for the comfort of the passing traveller. Many, if not the most of these, are obviously antique ; and they exist not unfrequently along the ancient roads which are now deserted. Thus on the long-forgotten way from Jericho to Bethel, "broken cisterns" of high antiquity are found at regular intervals. That Jerusalem was thus actually supplied of old with water is apparent also from the numerous remains of ancient cisterns still existing in the tract north of the city, which was once enclosed within the walls.

Reservoirs.—The same causes which led the inhabitants of Judea to excavate cisterns, induced them also to build, in and around most of their cities, large open reservoirs for more public use. Such tanks are found at Hebron, Bethel, Gibeon, Bireh, and various other places ; sometimes still in use, as at Hebron, but more commonly in ruins. The following are notices of these ancient reservoirs :—

GIHON, OR THE UPPER POOL (FOR THE SUPPLY OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM).

The sides are built up with hewn stones, laid in cement, with steps at the corners by which to descend into it. The bottom is level. The dimensions are as follows :—

Length from E. to W.	316 feet.
Breadth at the W. end	200 do.
Breadth at the E. end	218 do.
Depth at each end	18 do.

This pool would contain not less than 1,188,792 cubic feet of water, or upwards of 7,132,752 gallons.

THE LOWER POOL (ALSO FOR THE SUPPLY OF JERUSALEM)

was formed by throwing strong walls across the bottom of the valley ; between which the earth was wholly removed ; so that the rocky sides of the valley are left shelving down irregularly, and form a narrow channel along the middle. The wall at the south end is

thick and strong, like a dam or causeway; those along the sides are of course comparatively low, and much broken away; that on the north is also in part thrown down. A road crosses on the causeway, at the southern end. The following are the measurements of this reservoir:—

Length along the middle	592 feet.
Breadth at the N. end	245 do.
Breadth at the S. end	275 do.
Depth at N. end	35 do.
Depth at S. end	42 do.

This pool would contain 5,925,920 cubic feet of water, or upwards of 35,554,620 gallons.

POOL OF HEZEKIAH.

Length	240 feet.
Breadth	144 do.

The bottom is rock, levelled and covered with cement. It is not deep.

The pool of Bethesda measures 360 feet in length, 180 in breadth, and is 75 feet deep, besides the rubbish which has been accumulating in it for ages. At its present depth it would contain 8,510,000 cubic feet of water, or 21,060,000 gallons.

THE POOL OF HEBRON

measures 133 feet on each side, being a square reservoir, built with hewn stones of good workmanship. The whole depth is 21 feet 8 inches. To the north of the town there is another pool measuring 85 feet by 55, and 18 feet 8 inches deep. These reservoirs seemed to furnish the chief, if not the sole supply of the town at the time; and were constantly frequented by persons carrying away the water in skins. The former of the two pools above mentioned would contain 384,735 cubic feet, or upwards of 2,308,410 gallons, imperial measure; and the latter 87,655 cubic feet, or 525,930 gallons.

N.B.—The calculations of cubic feet, and the estimate of the contents in imperial gallons (at the rate of $\frac{21}{2}$ to the foot, which is rather under the truth), are ours; Mr. Wilson having only given the dimensions of the pools.—J. Ob. server.

APPENDIX V.

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RETURN SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MANUFACTORIES, WORKS, &c., IN
THE COLONY IN THE YEAR 1872.

Connected with, or dependent upon, Agriculture, viz.:—

Agricultural Implement Manufactories	24
Tobacco Manufactories	32
Bakeries (Steam)	5
Reaping Machines	189
Threshing Machines	334
Hay-cutting Machines (Steam)	9
Hay-pressing Machines	276
Chaff-cutters	936
Bone Manure Manufactories	9
Wine-presses	189
Sugar Manufactories	38
Mowing Machines	257
Corn-crushers	302
Corn-shellers	1558
Harrows (Steam)	1
Ploughs (Steam)	1
Winnowing Machines	616

Working on Raw Materials the Production of the Pastoral Interest,
viz.:—

Soap and Candle Manufactories	26
Woollen Cloth Manufactories	6
Tanueries, &c.	115
Fellmongers, &c.	22
Salting and Meat-preserving Establishments	17
Boiling-down Establishments	34
Wool-washing Establishments	22
Wool-pressing Machines (Steam)	19
Glue Manufactory	1
Sheep-washing Machines	23

Manufacture of Food of which the Raw Material is not the produce
of Agriculture and of Articles of Drink, viz. :—

Distilleries	42
Sugar Refineries	3
Breweries	15
Confectionery Manufactories	27
Coffee, Chocolate, and Spice Works	6
Ginger-beer, Aerated Waters, Liqueurs, Cordial, Vinegar, Ink, and Blacking Manufactories	68
Jam Manufactories	2

Building Materials and Plastic Manufactures, viz. :—

Brick-yards	189
Drain-pipe	7
Limekilns	77
Potteries, &c.	14
Tile Works	6
Saw-Mills, &c.	80

Machine Manufactories, Brass, Lead, and Iron Works :—

Iron and Tin Works ,	37
Iron, Brass, and Copper Foundries	41
Machinists, Engineers, &c.	54
Type Foundries	2

Miscellaneous Works and Manufactories :—

Air-engine for working Machinery	1
Account Book, &c., Manufactories	9
Bag and Sack Manufactory	1
Bark-cutting Machines	53
Bark-pressing Machines	7
Bone-charcoal Manufactory	3
Boot Manufactories	35
Cabinet Works (Steam)	1
Chemical Works	2
Clothing Manufactories	15
Coach and Waggon Manufactories	71

Dry Docks and Floating Docks	3
Dye Establishments	9
Firework Manufactory	1
Fire-engines	22
Gas-works	9
Glass Manufactories	2
Hat Manufactories	12
Ice Manufactories	4
Kerosene Oil Manufactories	2
Mast and Block Manufactories	2
Metallic Paint Manufactory	1
Organ-builders	1
Packing-case Manufactories	4
Paper-box Manufactory	1
Paper Mills	2
Patent Slips	4
Printing Establishments (Steam)	9
Rope Manufactories	4
Railway Carriage Works	3
Salt Works	3
Ship and Boat Builders	75
Shirt Manufactories	5
Smelting Works—Iron	2
Smelting Works—Copper	7
Smelting Works—Tin	3
Soap-powder Manufactory	1
Steam-joinery	3
Steam-vessels	101
Steam-washing Machines	2
Stone-crushing Machines	7
Stone-dressing Machines (Steam)	3
Water-works	5
Wire-works	1
Totals	6242

APPENDIX VI.

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**ABSTRACT STATEMENT SHOWING THE REVENUE AND RECEIPTS OF 1872,
THE ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED REVENUE AND RECEIPTS FOR 1873,
AND THE ESTIMATED REVENUE FOR THE YEAR 1874.**

Head of Receipt.	Revenue of 1872.	Actual and Estimated Revenue for 1873.	Estimated Revenue for the Year 1874.
Customs . . .	£ 974,857	£ 1,084,812	£ 947,800
Duty on Refined Sugar and Molasses . . .	15,020	23,158	21,000
Duty on Spirits distilled in the Colony . . .	8,829	11,382	20,000
Gold Revenue . . .	35,196	28,776	32,000
Mint Receipts . . .	17,789	11,372	15,000
Stamps . . .	94,298	88,118	90,000
Pilotage Rates, Harbour Dues and Fees . . .	20,797	21,328	20,000
Tonnage Dues . . .	7,522	2,337	...
Land Revenue . . .	840,452	1,120,754	1,132,300
Rents, exclusive of Land . . .	35,062	29,008	33,240
Contributions under the Sheep Disease Prevention Act of 1866 . . .	9,012	10,332	9,600
Fees under Registration of Branda Act . . .	891	978	800
Railway Receipts . . .	421,888	474,819	500,000
Postage . . .	96,477	104,786	102,000
Commission on Money Orders . . .	8,609	3,887	3,800
Electric Telegraph Receipts . . .	48,866	52,307	60,000
Licences . . .	79,613	84,036	79,900
Fees of Office . . .	25,309	26,219	26,130
Fines and Forfeitures . . .	5,751	6,432	6,015
Interest on City Debentures . . .	10,000	10,000	10,000
Miscellaneous . . .	60,774	54,294	59,350
Totals . . .	£ 2,812,012	£ 3,294,135	£ 3,168,935

The Treasury, New South Wales,
16th October, 1873.

GEO. A. LLOYD,
Treasurer.

REVENUE DETAILED.

Estimated Revenue for the year 1874.

CUSTOMS.	£
Spirits	400,000
Wine	40,000
Ale and Beer	50,000
Tobacco and Cigars	114,000
Tea	55,000
Sugar and Molasses	60,000
Coffee and Chicory	10,000
Opium	6,000
Malt	2,000
Hops	5,000
Rice	7,500
Dried Fruits	24,000
<i>Ad valorem</i>	(Abolished 1st January)
Specific Duties	115,000
Bonded Warehouses, 20 Vic. No. 21	4,000
Rent of Goods in Queen's Warehouses	300
	892,800
Murray River Customs	55,000
Total Customs	947,800
DUTY ON REFINED SUGAR AND MOLASSES	21,000
DUTY ON SPIRITS DISTILLED IN THE COLONY	20,000
GOLD REVENUE.	
Duty on Gold	25,000
Fees for Escort and Conveyance of Gold	7,000
	32,000
MINT RECEIPTS	15,000
STAMPS	90,000
PILOTAGE AND HARBOUR AND LIGHT RATES, 85 VIC. NO. 7 .	20,000

TONNAGE DUES.

Newcastle	(Abolished from 1st January, 1874)
Wollongong	" "
Kiama	" "

LAND REVENUE.

Land Sales	743,000
Balances of Conditional Purchases	30,000
Interest on Land Conditionally Purchased	60,000
Rent and Assessment on Pastoral Runs, &c.	211,000
Fees on Transfer of Runs	1,300
Quit Rents	500
Licences to cut Timber on, and remove Material from, Crown Lands	4,000
Mineral Leases	30,000
Leases of Auriferous Lands	28,000
Miners' Rights	16,000
Business Licences	1,500
Fees on Preparation and Enrolment of Title Deeds	5,000
Miscellaneous	2,000
	<hr/>
	1,132,300

RENTS, EXCLUSIVE OF LAND.

Tolls and Ferries	25,000
Wharfs	5,500
Government Buildings and Premises	250
Glebe Island Bridge	1,000
Glebe Island Abattoir	1,490
	<hr/>
	33,240

CONTRIBUTIONS UNDER THE SHEEP DISEASE PREVENTION ACT
OF 1866

9,600

FEES UNDER REGISTRATION OF BRANDS ACT

800

RAILWAY RECEIPTS

500,000

POSTAGE

102,000

COMMISSION ON MONEY ORDERS

3,800

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH RECEIPTS

60,000

LICENCES.

	£
Wholesale Spirit Dealers	5,000
Auctioneers	1,900
Retail Fermented and Spirituous Liquors	68,000
Billiard and Bagatelle Licences to Publicans	2,700
Distillers and Rectifiers	100
Hawkers and Pedlars	1,000
Pawnbrokers	450
Colonial Wine, Cider, and Perry	450
All other Licences	300
	<hr/>
	79,900

FEES OF OFFICE.

Certificates of Neutralization	250
Registrar General	6,280
Prothonotary of Supreme Court	2,000
Master in Equity	550
Curator of Intestate Estates	1,300
Insolvent Court	1,600
Sheriff	800
District Courts	3,500
Courts of Petty Sessions	3,000
Water Police Court and Shipping Masters	3,000
Steam Navigation Board
Marine Board	1,000
Under Gold Fields Act	50
Slaughtering Fees, Glebe Island Abattoir	1,800
Other Fees	1,000
	<hr/>
	26,130

FINES AND FORFEITURES.

Sheriff	200
Courts of Petty Sessions	4,200
Water Police Court	840
For the Unauthorized Occupation of Crown Lands	300
Crown's Share of Seizures, &c.	250
Confiscated and Unclaimed Property	200
Other Fines	25
	<hr/>
	6,015

INTEREST ON CITY DEBENTURES

10,000

MISCELLANEOUS RECEIPTS.

	£
Sale of Government Property	1,500
Support of Patients in Lunatic Asylums	900
Collections by Government Printer	4,250
Store Rent of Gunpowder	1,500
Work performed by Prisoners in Gaol	2,600
Fees on presenting Private Bills to the Parliament, and on Letters of Registration	1,000
Interests on Bank Deposits	10,000
Docking Vessels, FitzRoy Dry Dock	1,600
Assessment on Sugar Refinery	1,000
Other Receipts	35,000
	<hr/>
	59,350
TOTAL	<hr/> <hr/> £3,168,935

GEO. A. LLOYD,
Treasurer.

FRANCIS KIRKPATRICK,
Accountant.

The Treasury, New South Wales,
16th October, 1873.

SERVICES PROVIDED FOR BY LOANS.

ABSTRACT of EXPENDITURE for PUBLIC WORKS and other SERVICES provided for by LOANS, from the Commencement of the Loans Account to the 30th September, 1873.

Head of Service.	Amount.	Total.	
		£	s. d.
Railways	6,719,262 8 3		
Telegraphs	270,774 19 0		
		6,990,037	7 3
Immigration ¹	518,769 14 7		
Sewerage and Water Supply, Sydney	400,000 0 0		
Compensation to Municipal Council of Sydney, for Land resumed under the Water Supply Act, 17 Vict. No. 35	43,261 14 6		
Public Works, Queensland, when it formed part of New South Wales	49,855 8 6		
		1,011,886	17 7

¹ This is a very discreditable entry. The Squatter Government,

Head of Service.	Amount.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Harbours and Rivers Navigation :—		
Improving the navigation of the river Hunter, and Improvements to the Port of Newcastle . . .	195,409 15 9	
Improving the navigation of the rivers Darling, Murray, and Murrumbidgee . . .	76,909 16 1	
Harbour Works, Wollongong . . .	44,878 9 5	
Harbour Works, Kiama . . .	50,176 14 0	
Improving the navigation of other Harbours and Rivers, including the erection of Wharfs, &c. . .	78,030 1 7	
Steam Dredges and Punts, Sydney . . .	28,499 16 3	
Improvements, Circular Quay . . .	6,474 8 4	
Steam Cranes, Wharf, &c., Darling Harbour . . .	45,320 4 1	
Dam at North Rocks, Parramatta . . .	5,000 0 0	
Dam at Hunt's Creek, Parramatta . . .	8,000 0 0	
FitzRoy Dry Dock . . .	20,868 13 10	
Wharf, &c., Woolloomooloo Bay . . .	28,164 16 10	
Reclaiming Land at head of Darling Harbour and Blackwattle Swamp . . .	12,381 1 11	
Blackwattle Bridge and Causeway . . .	10,000 0 0	
		610,113 13 1

after transferring the Land Revenue of the Colony, which had been set apart from the first for the promotion of immigration, into the Ordinary Revenue, contract a Public Debt for Immigration, and effect it by Loans.—THE AUTHOR.

Head of Service.	Amount.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Public Works and Buildings :—						
Harbour Defences . . .	183,793	10	8			
University of Sydney . . .	55,000	0	0			
Affiliated Colleges . . .	34,523	5	5			
Grammar School . . .	25,000	0	0			
Australian Museum,—Enlargement . . .	26,954	11	0			
Parliamentary Buildings . . .	15,000	0	0			
Juvenile Reformatories . . .	14,057	18	3			
New General Post Office . . .	99,571	2	8			
New Printing Office . . .	6,000	0	0			
Receiving Houses at Redfern and the Necropolis . . .	12,548	13	7			
Free Public Library . . .	9,215	0	6			
Observatory . . .	7,000	0	0			
Asylum for Destitute Children . . .	5,000	0	0			
Additions to the Sydney Infirmary . . .	5,000	0	0			
Public Works and Improvements generally in Sydney and Suburbs . . .	27,329	12	10			
Lunatic Asylum . . .	6,121	17	2			
Light-houses . . .	44,052	7	2			
Glebe Island Abattoir, Bridge, &c., . . .	55,866	11	0			
Gaols and Penal Establishments . . .	12,864	16	6			
Court and Watch Houses . . .	9,827	15	0			
Police Barracks, Sydney and Country Districts . . .	10,000	0	0			
				664,727	1	9
Roads and Bridges :—						
Bridges throughout the Colony . . .	287,044	9	6			
Metalling the Mudgee Road . . .	22,000	0	0			
				309,044	9	6
				£9,585,809	9	2

GEO. A. LLOYD,
FRANCIS KIRKPATRICK,
Accountant.

Treasurer.

The Treasury, New South Wales,
16th October, 1873.

PUBLIC DEBT.

STATEMENT showing the total amount of GOVERNMENT SECURITIES issued to the 30th September, 1873 ; the renewals included therein ; the amounts paid off finally from the Consolidated Revenue Fund ; and the Debt outstanding on the 30th September, 1873.

	£
Government Securities issued to 30th September, 1873 .	12,930,585
<i>Less Renewals included therein</i>	<u>1,083,100</u>
	11,847,485
Deduct amounts paid off finally from the Consolidated Revenue Fund	<u>1,017,600</u>
Debt outstanding on the 30th September, 1873	£10,829,885

The Treasury, New South Wales,
16th October, 1873.

APPENDIX VII.

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ADDRESS TO THE GOLD-MINERS OF 1851.

"To the Scotch and North of Ireland Presbyterians, and to Protestants generally, at the Gold-Mines of Australia.

" Fellow Countrymen and Christian Friends,—The allwise and beneficent Creator has been pleased, in His good providence, to disclose to the inhabitants of this colony, and through them to the whole civilized world, the existence of an extensive auriferous region or gold-field, in this portion of our Western interior ; and, as might naturally be expected, daily-increasing multitudes of persons of all classes have been attracted to the spot. Now, as God does nothing in vain, but has uniformly high and holy ends in all His works and ways, we are bound to conclude that the gold which has thus been mixed up in such large quantities with the soil of our land, has been so placed that it might be searched for, and turned to account for the purposes of man. We cannot, therefore, allow ourselves to suppose that there can be anything either inherently evil in the

mere search for gold, or essentially demoralizing in the processes which that search implies. On the contrary, we can only regard it as a matter to be decided by every intelligent man for himself, whether he shall remain in the occupation he has hitherto pursued, or betake himself to this new branch of industry which the good providence of God has opened up in our land. There is no credit to be assumed by the man who, in the exercise of common prudence, remains in the pursuit or occupation to which he has been accustomed, because he believes it to be his interest to do so : there is no blame to be attached to the man who, for precisely the same reason, abandons his former employment and betakes himself to the mines.

"That in other countries and ages the search for gold has served to call forth into frightful exhibition the worst passions of our nature, and led to the perpetration of crimes and cruelties, from the bare recital of which humanity recoils, cannot be denied ; and the circumstance has induced many well-meaning people to suppose that there must be something inherently evil—something essentially demoralizing—in the process. The atrocities perpetrated by the Spaniards of the sixteenth century in Mexico and Peru, in their accursed thirst for gold, are known and read of all men ; and the scenes of riot, robbery, and fire-raising—of famine, pestilence, and death—which have more recently characterized the search for gold in California, have only served to strengthen this idea. But there is no analogy between either of these cases and the discovery of the auriferous regions of Australia. Divine providence has, with marvellous wisdom and beneficence, kept back that discovery until this community had acquired the requisite strength and consistency to enable it to sustain the shock which its announcement would inevitably occasion—till food and clothing, and all the other necessaries and appliances of life, could be procured with facility ; and till a numerous and reputable free immigrant population, who had come out to the colony with far different objects, had settled in the land. In these circumstances, we are warranted to cherish the hope that the search for gold in Australia will continue to be pursued as quietly and peacefully as any other description of honest industry, and that no such scenes will be enacted here as have entailed an immortality of infamy upon the Spaniards of Mexico and Peru, or been exhibited in a modified form even in California.

"Certain parties have all along, indeed, been raising a hue and cry about the necessity for increased protection for person and property in these regions ; anticipating all manner of outrage, of violence and crime among the labourers at the mines. Such persons seem to re-

gard their fellow-men, if at all of a humbler class in society than themselves, as 'natural brute beasts,' who understand no argument but that of force, and who are only to be treated like sheep and cattle. Perhaps, however, they are merely desirous that the Local Government may have some excuse for creating additional and unnecessary offices for themselves or their friends at the public expense. I confess, however, I have much greater confidence in the influence of a few Christian men for the preservation of the public peace, and the maintenance of order in a mixed community, than in any number of bayonets or batons. Remember then, I entreat you, what the Lord Jesus says to His disciples (for He still says precisely the same to real Christians of whatever denomination) : '*Ye are the salt of the earth*,' or ye are those whose peculiar function it is to preserve the mass of society from corruption. *Ye are the light of the world*—that is, ye are those whose honourable office it is to illumine its intellectual and moral darkness. The fact that the exciting process of gold-mining is actually pursued in this colony by a numerous, but peaceful and orderly, community of intelligent and Christian men, among whom the usual accompaniments of gold-mining in other countries are nowhere seen,—this fact will do more to distinguish our land in the estimation of the whole civilized world, than even the discovery of gold itself."

Having then described the arrangements which had been made by the ecclesiastical body to which I belonged for the dispensation of the ordinances of religion among the members of their communion at the mines, and recommended to the miners the minister who was to be stationed at the Turon for a time, the address was resumed as follows :—

"Having thus accredited to you a messenger of the churches under the superintendence of the Synod of New South Wales, it is perhaps unnecessary for me to anticipate his proper work, in reminding you of your duty to God, to your neighbour, and to your country. Permit me, however, to offer a single word of exhortation on each of these topics.

"In regard, therefore, to your duty to God, let me entreat you to *Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work; but the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work.* The observance of the Christian Sabbath is, in all circumstances, but especially in such circumstances as those in which you are at present placed at these gold-mines, the badge of your discipleship, the touchstone of your Christian profession.

